

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.



THE author of the following Critique could not be insensible to the very favourable reception which the First Edition of it met among the candid and informed of every denomination of Irishmen. An approbation so universal and so flattering, convinced him that his intentions were not misunderstood ; and that while he defended the character and principles of Catholics and Presbyterians against the attacks of calumny and misrepresentation, he appeared to the liberal professors of the established religion, to render essential service to the Protestant body. Indeed the principles which he combats, have been as destructive to the nation at large, as they are contrary to truth ; and though he has contented himself with striking at their foundations, without entering into a minute discussion of their manifold and ruinous consequences, yet, he has the satisfaction to observe, that he contributed in some degree to the removal of perplexities, into which the well-meaning might be led, by a false glare of sophistry, and a studied ambiguity of loose and general expressions. Conscious slander, and wilful misrepresentation have,

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he thinks, been proved against those *pious* champions who first commenced hostilities in the late paper war. It is not then surprising, to see them attempt to retort the charge, and to seek an asylum in the obscurity which they labour to spread over the great point in debate.

The good Bishop of Cloyne has lately favoured the world with the ninth edition of his pamphlet, to which he has prefixed a preface of twelve pages, and in this short compass he places *beyond the reach of cavil*, the necessity of that famous publication; and convinces the public, that his opponents, *such*, he says, *as are worth the slightest notice*, namely, Doctor Butler, Doctor Campbell, Mr. Barber, and Mr. O'Leary, have proved for him that assertion, which is one of the main columns of his reasoning, viz. "*that the church of Ireland is in danger, from the wish of the Dissenters, either to set up another ecclesiastical establishment or to pull down all establishments.*"

The influence of these four gentlemen, his Lordship observes, is considerable in their respective stations; and yet, they would have very little claim to influence or respect among rational beings, were they capable of so egregious a blunder, as to confirm what they meant to refute. Those among whom their influence prevails, will not on an impartial investigation, appear destitute of reason and penetration. It may then be well supposed, that the good Bishop is either bewildered himself, or would wish to bewilder others.

The assertion, which he says is one of the main columns of his reasoning, is fraught with ambiguity, and of course may be twisted and turned as inclination may point out, or as occasion may require. To determine its unsettled meaning, and to reduce it to a fixed sense, will shew what strength this main column of the Bishop's reasoning is endowed



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dowed with.—Every sincere christian of whatever denomination, should wish and desire that all mankind were of his persuasion; for, if he be possessed of any truths that may be of service here or hereafter, he is bound in conscience to communicate them; So far should *all* christians agree with his Lordship; but they must also *all* avow, that the only means, which they are to use towards propagating their respective tenets, are evangelical means, such as persuasion and good example. The Bishop supposes the Catholics and Presbyterians to have very different means in view; and in this lies his misrepresentation. His harsh expressions of *erecting* and pulling down, his pointing to foreign assistance, and to the late outrages of the Whiteboys, as the means to be resorted to, give us to understand, that he supposes the two dissenting bodies ready to make use of any means even the most violent and unwarrantable, for accomplishing their spiritual purposes: but of this his supposition he offers not the shadow of a proof. The word *establishment*, which stands forward also in the main column of the Bishop's reasoning, is of ambiguous import. It may signify the form or mode of spiritual government, without any regard to temporalities or to temporal power, such as the government by elders among Presbyterians, and that by bishops and priests among Catholics. In this sense, every denomination of christians may be said to wish the establishment of their religion, for we have already seen, that they ought to wish for the conversion of all mankind to what they deem the truth; and in this wish, the Bishop should see no danger, if he be not conscious of a want of truth, or of a want of spiritual exertion on his side. But the word *establishment* in the Bishop's sense, evidently points to the temporalities of the church. Even in this
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sense a vast latitude is observable. In a country where different religions prevail, we may conceive the established clergy endowed with certain temporalities, and certain privileges, which may or may not consist with the natural and unalienable rights of other denominations of christians. If we conceive their establishment in the former sense, it *may* have its use, and may not be obnoxious to any description of men : if, in the latter sense, its abusive and unjust extent, will have for enemies all honest and disinterested men. The Bishop seems to comprise such abuses under the word *entire* ; and if he does, not only the two dissenting bodies, but the great body of Protestants, will not be found *cordial friends to the entire constitution of this kingdom*. But it is no better than a perversion of language to incorporate such things with the constitution ; for it might be easily shewn that some of them, and perhaps such of them as are most dear to the Bishop, are in direct contradiction with the great principles of Magna Charta. Again, though we were to suppose the established church necessarily to involve these abuses in their most obnoxious degree ; yet, to infer that the two dissenting bodies are ready to get rid of them by any means, though the entire constitution were to be subverted for that end, is a conclusion too rapid for a strict logical progress, in which no regular reasoner can join with the Bishop. And to conclude further, that the Catholics, after subverting the present establishment, would erect their own in its stead, and deal out much greater severities to all who differ from them, is a discursive leap in which no true philosopher can follow the Bishop. These distinctions and observations were necessary, in order to clear away the confused mass of ambiguity, which concealed the foundation of one of the main columns of the
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Bishop's reasoning. The foundation is no sooner viewed, than the flimsy texture of the column appears, and the judicious public must hold the reasoning which it supports, and the idle attempts made to introduce the Bishop's opponents, confirming it in equal contempt.

When the oppressions and grievances caused by establishments are pointed out, it is a curious mode of defence in the Bishop, to answer in vague and loose expressions, that such complaints tend to pull down the church. When Doctor Butler, who disclaimed by oath all temporal jurisdiction in the see of Rome, declares his firm adherence to the chair of St. Peter, it is curious to see the the Bishop of Cloyne, who doubts not the sincerity of Doctor Butler's oath, infer from these expressions, that he wishes to pull down the church established, and to erect his own in its stead. Indeed the good Bishop, through all his jumbles of ambiguities and contradictions, wishes to secure a retreat, and generally leaves room for some sort of evasion, by which he too may complain of calumny and misrepresentation. When he represents Doctor Butler, ready to subvert and to erect establishments, he adds, *by all lawful means*. Now, if the only means which Doctor Butler considers as lawful be evangelical means, such as persuasion and good example, what objection can the Bishop of Cloyne take to his wish of propagating the religion of his conscience? If the good Bishop suspects Doctor Butler of considering any other means as lawful, why not specify these means? Why not prove that Doctor Butler considers them as lawful? The only satisfactory reply that can be made to such queries is, that the good Bishop of Cloyne does not chuse to enter into details, or to adduce particulars which do not answer his purpose.

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The good Bishop, in order to shew the necessity of sounding his official alarm, gives a fresh representation of the late outrages, in which not a word is said of the extreme misery of the people, the exertions and sufferings of the Catholic clergy, the political contests of Protestants, &c. &c. &c. By the same spirit of candour he gets clear of his opponents; he goes not to tell why he *slumbered on his watch full fifteen months*, before he gave his alarm; he does not tell that the humanity of a military commander had allayed disturbances, which the cruelty of church-men served only to exasperate, before he gave his alarm: he does not shew that exhibiting the great body of the people as *conspirators against church and state, as internal confederated enemies*, is not calling *one part of the nation to arms against the other*. The good Bishop spoke of charity; *he used no taunting epithets*; he only attributed principles subversive of the natural law to the Catholics and Presbyterians of Ireland. Their adherence to those principles he did not blame, he considered it as laudable; but for this laudable adherence, he thinks it necessary to debar them from their natural rights. "*That his fears were not groundless, he can appeal to the highest authority, such as Doctor Butler will not presume to question.*" Here the good Bishop evades the question as usual. The question is not, whether there have been riots and illegal proceedings in Munster which justly attracted the attention of the legislature; the question is, whether these riots were a plan laid by the catholic body to subvert the constitution. This his Lordship has asserted, he has been repeatedly called on for proofs of his assertion, and in vain do we look for them in the preface to his ninth edition.

The good Bishop seems, however, perfectly satisfied. Indeed, he says that he does not attempt

to confute the arguments of his opponents, for his auxiliaries have affected that business. *The work is done*, proclaims his Lordship and thus adjudges the palm to himself. He then launches into a strain of congratulation and self applause, very natural to the feelings of a man after obtaining a complete victory. He sees nothing but perfection and prosperity, and inestimable comforts diffused among the people. The man who points to grievances and abuses, is a *seditionis æmagogue*; they are only imperfections incident to all human institutions. Political and religious freedom reign uncontrolled, and nothing seems wanting to the inhabitants of this earthly paradise, but a proper sense of their happiness. What a pity it is, that a rude maxim of law and reason should disturb the good Bishop's pleasing dream. "No man, not even the Bishop of Cloyne, can be admitted a judge in his own cause." His opponents readily agree with his Lordship, that to give a free discussion to the momentous questions which have been lately agitated, is at all times useful and desirable. They conceive that such an inquiry tends to illustrate the abused, ambiguous and revered expressions of Constitution, Establishment, religious and political Freedom, which conceal in confusion and obscurity a mass of discordant ideas, that only ceases to blindfold and lead men astray, when it is examined and analyzed by the light of reason. In any discussion, assertion will not pass for argument, nor will an unmeaning verbosity be held for demonstration. The good Bishop's *organ of light* may well discern the beauty of *material* objects, in stately palaces of pampered dignitaries, and in the magnificent squares of Trinity College: but if it be a true organ, it cannot represent as *a little irregularity on the surface of the constitution*, the extreme misery, the unexampled wretch.

wretchedness of the most numerous class of the people, after a century of peace, of professions, and of promises !!!

Among the Bishop's auxiliaries, who he *says*, have confuted the arguments of his opponents, and on whom he is so lavish of his praises, Doctor Hales is placed foremost. This honourable distinction conferred on Doctor Hales, would not induce the author of the following Critique to consider him worthy of his notice, (for the good Bishop has already been the panegyrist of that pattern of dulness the spurious Theophilus) if *men who should know better things*, had not expressed their astonishment at seeing the labours and learning of Dr. Hales overlooked. When the author declares Dr. Hales's production unworthy of notice, his motives are not the same which led the good Bishop to pass the same judgment on other productions. If the Bishop meets facts and arguments which he cannot surmount, he pronounces such an opposition not *worth the slightest notice*; but the author thinks that he can assign different reasons for expressing his contempt of Doctor Hales's production.

Learning and a false appearance of it, are very different, though often confounded in the present age. The art of printing; the speedy and easy communication between distant parts; the establishment of learned societies, and of public libraries; the modern mode of publishing extracts, composing dictionaries, giving general ideas, forming abstracts, and opening every treasure by the means of *locupletissimi indicis*, render a false appearance of learning so easily attainable, that little more is requisite than to know how to read and to write, in order to fill a pamphlet, or even a volume, with names, and opinions, quotations and dates, authorities and anecdotes. This idle display

play of learning cannot impose on men of judgment; they will easily distinguish between it and true learning; they will see in the former a loose and false perception of things, oblique views, unnatural connexions, confusion and contradiction; so that the writer will seem a stranger to the subject which he pretends to treat. But in true learning, every thing hangs in regular order; something fixed and determinate appears in view, conclusions are not too weighty for their principles, nor are either moved from their natural situation; mutually agreeing, and mutually supporting each other, they form a consistent whole, which the mind instantly seizes, and at once sees its strength and its extent, its various relations and its just proportions. The man of true learning seems to have prepared, digested and assimilated the learning of ages, and to have made it his own. If the present century be justly celebrated for various models of true learning; it may with equal justice be said to surpass all former ages, in a false appearance of learning. Under which of these predicaments Doctor Hales' elaborate performance is to be ranked, a few remarks will demonstrate.

Doctor Hales' learned work is entitled, *Observations on the Political Influence of the doctrine of the Pope's Supremacy*, addressed to the Reverend Doctor Butler, &c. Doctor Hales sets out in his preface with a great shew of sincerity. and seems surprised at the want of candour in his patron's opponents. To convince the public of their misrepresentation, he fills several pages with two continued columns, the one containing the doctrines imputed to the Bishop of Cloyne; the other setting forth his Lordship's assertions contrary to these doctrines. Doctor Hales then asks the reader whether this mass of misrepresentation be

worthy of the birth, the ecclesiastical station, or the character of Doctor Butler? But does Doctor Hales imagine that his little cunning can impose on the good sense of the nation; or that, because misrepresentation is complained of on both sides, the public will not see on which side it really lies? In the good Bishop's pamphlet, as in all works of the kind, where men struggle against the tide of truth and reason; we may observe, besides the general features, and the fundamental principles, certain evasive feints, which point to different directions. The Bishop's opponents summed up his fundamental principles, in general propositions; and to these, Doctor Hales opposes his Lordship's detached assertions, evasive feints; and because the good Bishop lays down one thing, and professes another, Doctor Hales accuses his opponents of misrepresentation. A remarkable instance of this sort of duplicity occurs, where Doctor Hales accuses Doctor Butler of a want of candour, in his representation of the Bishop of Cloyne's comments on the consecration oath of Catholic Bishops. Doctor Butler considers these comments, as involving him in the guilt of perjury, by setting his consecration oath at variance with his oath of allegiance: whereas, the good Bishop of Cloyne had said, in express terms, that his comments regarded only *a future oath of allegiance, that might be so framed as to take in the perpetual establishment of the Protestant religion.*" But what signifies what the Bishop of Cloyne or Doctor Hales may say, when the general tenour of their reasoning contradicts their idle assertions? Either the Bishop of Cloyne understands the consecration oath of Catholic Bishops, in a temporal sense, or in a spiritual one: if he understands it in the former sense, it militates against any oath of allegiance; if in the latter sense, it cannot affect

fect the future oath alluded to, unless the good Bishop thinks, that such an oath should exclude even the evangelical means which all christians are bound to use, in order to convert unbelievers, to what they deem the truth. If such be his intention, we cannot but admire his pious proposal, which falls little short of requiring a recantation, contrary to the dictates of conscience. Well might the reader be here asked, whether such wretched subterfuges be worthy of the Bishop of Cloyne, or even of Doctor Hales?

We are next presented with Doctor Hales' introduction; but to what it leads is not easy to determine. Indeed, it affords us a striking specimen of that confusion which characterises Doctor Hales' entire performance. He does not, he says, question Doctor Butler's claim to virtues and principles, which would render any man a perfect subject, and an ornament of society; and almost with the same breath, at the distance of scarcely three lines, he imputes to the same Doctor Butler, unconstitutional tenets! Afterwards follow the authorities of an Apostle, of an article of religion, of genuine philosophy: the names of Plato and of Berkeley. *Sed quorsum hæc omnia?* Plato's saying is recorded with particular care: that *if Wisdom could be discerned by mortal eyes, she would excite loves of herself incredible.* In the justness and beauty of this saying, the reader may perfectly acquiesce, and yet see no danger of being smitten in traversing Doctor Hales' pamphlet. The body of the pamphlet, though replete with *well-chosen* extracts, consists only of forty-nine pages; and yet an appendix of other useful materials, consisting of forty-seven pages, is added; so that Doctor Hales having little to say himself, we might expect in his reflections consistency and force.—Our expectations would be miserably disappointed.—

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At his first movement, a glaring inconsistency ushers him into view. The Bishop's argument he remarks applied to future oath, which might be so framed as to take in the perpetual establishment of the Protestant religion; and Doctor Butler, very uncandidly, referred it to the oath already taken by Catholics. As a proof of Doctor Butler's misrepresentation, Doctor Hales in the next page sets about shewing (and the grand tendency of his entire pamphlet, if it has any determinate tendency, to shew) that the consecration oath of Catholic Bishops, is inconsistent with any oath of allegiance. His reasoning here is new, it is his own, and his ingenuity and splicing words and in forming distinctions where there is no difference, is truly amazing! It would seem, however, that Doctor Hales imagined that he had to do with school-boys. Doctor Butler, we are given to understand, is guilty of a gross misrepresentation by rendering the words *Salvo meo ordine*, "without prejudice to our state;" for Doctor Hales very *candidly* subjoins, after the word *state*, i. e. "government." But what authority does Doctor Hales add his i. e.? Does not the word *state* signify rank, condition? And is it not obvious from the tenour of Doctor Butler's language, that he uses it in this sense? Is it not also obvious, from the declarations of Bossuet, and of all Catholic Bishops, that whatever the words are, they are universally meant to include the rights, and the duties of Bishops, under whatever government they live or in whatever situation they are placed? Is Doctor Hales so unphilosophical, as not to know that words are of themselves arbitrary, and receive their signification from general consent?—Such wretched quibbles denote the little pedant, who catches at sounds because he cannot dip into the substance

substance of things,—they place Doctor Hales' candour in a conspicuous point of view.

Bossuet himself is next assaulted, and in a few lines is unmasked, defeated and undone. Bossuet, it seems, had from a comparison of Cranmer's consecration oath, with the protestation which he made before it, inferred a charge of insincerity and deliberate perjury against that *conscientious* prelate. In his protestation Cranmer declared, *that he did not consider himself precluded by the oath which he was about to take, from being able freely to speak, consult, and consent in all matters, any how concerning the reformation of the Christian religion*: of which reformation, the first point was to be a rejection of the Pope's spiritual authority: and after this protestation, he took the consecration oath. Bossuet infers: "The new Archbishop therefore, recognized the Pope's spiritual authority, though he did not believe in it; because, either this oath is an illusion, or it obliges to recognize the spiritual power of the Pope." Common sense discovers nothing in Bossuet's conclusion, but what is clear and consistent. Doctor Hales' uncommon sense, affords us other matter which is not easily unravelled, and seems to end in nonsense. We are to view in Doctor Hales's, the Angel Ithuriel armed with his spear; and in Bossuet, the hellish fiend *whispering illusion into the ear of the unwary listener*. The disguised fiend *is no sooner touched with the pointed spear of truth, than he starts up into his proper shape, and confesses, "that a protestation of allegiance to his prince, strong and express as that of Cranmer's, does not acquit him of the charge of insincerity, but is swallowed up and lost, in the gulph of the Pope's spiritual authority."*

Spectatum admissi, risum teneatis amici!

Had the great Bossuet now lived, with what pity would he survey the awkward and fantastic movements

movements of such an adversary ! And what opinion are we to form of Doctor Hales' *taste and literature*, when we observe him place a Cranmer above Bossuet, whose learning and genius claim a superior rank among the brightest luminaries of any age or country ?

Doctor Hales seems at length weary of keeping any measure, by the help of unfair and idle distinctions between common sense and bigotry. He now thinks it clear, that Doctor Butler recognizes the Pope's jurisdiction in temporals ; though Doctor Butler disclaimed that opinion upon oath ; though the Catholic world disclaims it ; and though Doctor Hales does *not question Doctor Butler's inviolable attachment to his oath of allegiance*. Nay, it is a tenet, it is an article of faith in the Catholic church ! For proof of this assertion, Councils ! Canons ! Decrees ! Decretals ! and the writings of certain individuals are ransacked. In this curious process, private opinions are confounded with doctrinal points : the variable nature of discipline, with the unalterable essence of faith. Whatever depravity or ignorance the corrupt nature of man took up from a long succession of barbarous and gloomy ages : whatever extravagancies churchmen have been guilty of, are all attributed to the Catholic religion ; while its true and great effects in humanizing tyrants ; in civilizing savages, and in withstanding the tide of corruption, are entirely kept out of view.—Such are the data on which Doctor Hales builds his reasoning. We are at a loss which to despise most, the historian, the philosopher, or the divine ; and yet Doctor Hales has the effrontery to tell the world, that he has treated the subject *according to the golden rule of strict and impartial justice*.

“ Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice.”

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He even speaks of logic, and of strict logical discussions ; and after repeatedly exclaiming against the misrepresentation of those who charged the good Bishop of Cloyne with imputing perjury to Catholic Bishops, Doctor Hales concludes, that the Pope's temporal jurisdiction is an article of faith among Catholics ; and of course, that the Catholics of Ireland who have sworn allegiance to their Sovereign, are guilty of perjury. This mode of vindicating his patron's character, for which purpose Doctor Hales says he first took up the pen, does not seem strictly logical ; nor do his confused and dark pages promise *a single ray of light to those who he apprehends sit in darkness and in the shadow of death.*

If the "*collegial duties with which Dr. Hales is burthened, and well nigh overwhelmed,*" permit him to reassume the learned disquisitions which he has promised, he should first provide for home defence : he should foresee, before he blindly engages in idle vagaries, how he may leave himself exposed to the weakest adversaries ; he should not forget what an immense recollection of abominable principles, and of detestable proceedings, could be *selected* out of the history of the Reformation ; and he should not expect an exemption from rules which he prescribes to others ; he should not misrepresent, as he has already done, the doctrines of Catholics on the infallibility of their church, and on the nature of oaths. These doctrines are openly taught and avowed in all parts of the Christian world. If Doctor Hales shuts his eyes to these obvious truths, if he pretends ignorance, if he strays from the glaring evidence of the question, who can acquit him of conscious slander, and of wilful falsehood.

The good Bishop's preface to his ninth edition, does not place his Lordship's candour in a more favourable

favourable point of view. Shrouded in a cloud of general and ambiguous expressions, he aims at controuling the understandings of men; pronouncing *the work done*, and refers to inferior agents for whatever proofs may be wanting. This is the natural and useful proceeding of despotism; but how to defend its consistency in the dignified writer who first laid down the subject, on the ground of philosophic reasoning and of free discussion will puzzle his most partial adherents, and oblige them to acknowledge, that a good Bishop either wants penetration, or harbours too mean an opinion of the intellects to which he applied. If despotism was to be enforced, discussion should have been avoided: if recourse was had to reasoning for the purpose of conviction, the language of despotism forms a preposterous conclusion. Indeed, that language, if adhered to throughout, was the only language suited to the good Bishop's doctrine; for this doctrine holds out the worst species of despotism, that which is exercised against the rights of conscience, and for the sake of religion. If professing a false religion he held just cause for the forfeiting of any share of liberty or property; or in other words, if true religion cannot be supported without unqualified encroachments on the rights of mankind; no essential difference can be perceived between this doctrine, and that which has so often undergone the execrations of mankind. The principles will be found the same, though the extension may differ; and the enormities committed by the Spaniards in the beginning of the Sixteenth century, may be justified by the principles fostered in Ireland at the close of the Eighteenth century!

To *forge* a creed for men which they disavow, is a very awkward mode of enforcing such principles; it may be practised against any description
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of men : a most horrid creed was formerly imputed to the primitive christians, the most virtuous of men, by their Pagan persecutors.

The author need say no more, in order to enable the public to judge between the Bishop of Cloyne and his opponents. The following Critique has sufficiently laid open the great points in debate ; and the good Bishop's preface to his ninth edition, has brought no additional support to his principles.

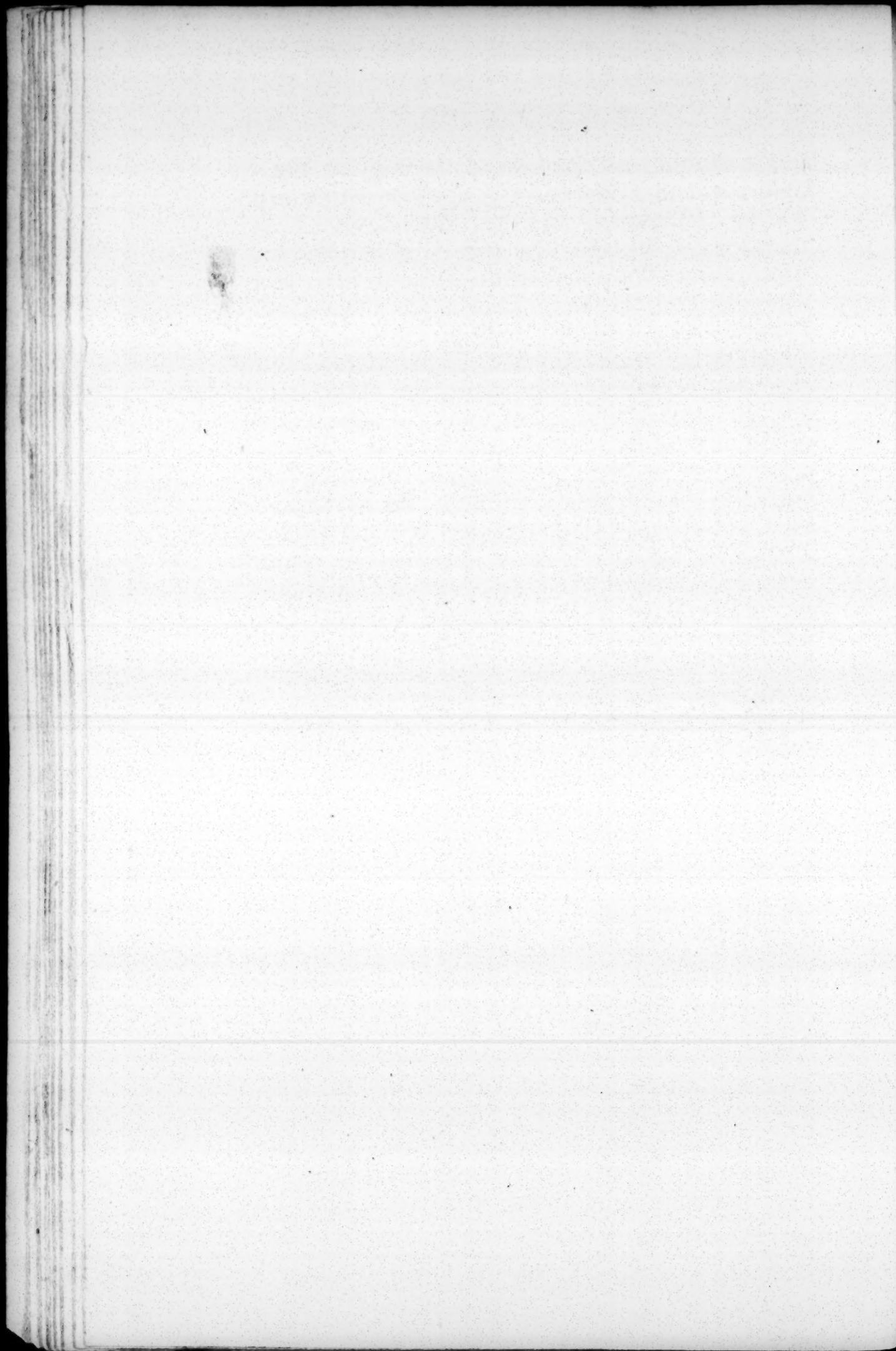
The author hopes that he may be still further indulged, while he takes some notice of objections raised against the following little work. It has been asserted, " that he is not entitled to the character which he assumed, as no man can be more biassed than he appears to be." The author suspects, that those from whom this objection proceeds, have not accurately weighed the force of the expression. When we speak of a bias, we generally mean something reprehensible, a propensity which leads contrary to justice or reason. We are not to include under a reproachful appellation, those feelings which have been implanted by the Almighty in our nature, for the best of purposes : and which exhibit pity or contempt, indignation or aversion, &c. according to the nature of the objects which occur. The author humbly flatters himself, that wherever his feelings strike, reason will be found to precede. It has also been asserted, and the assertion was probably meant as a proof of the former objection, that to attack whole bodies of men is unjustifiable in the author. Perhaps no man can be found more averse to that practise, than the author has always been. Though a general charge were never so allowable, yet thus to disoblige even a single worthy individual, was painful to him : however, it seemed to him in the present instance, not only

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justifiable but even necessary for his purpose. Whoever considers that the attacks, which the author undertook to repel, proceeded in a very general current from the bodies alluded to, against bodies of men far more numerous, and in the opinion of many, more respectable than themselves, will see that a charge of misrepresentation, if founded, should be general; and that a general charge of defaults, if just, became necessary for the purpose of defence. For if men are allowed to consider themselves as immaculate, it is impossible to determine where the judgments, which they may presume to pass on the rest of mankind will end.—The author has also been censured for his coarse treatment of Mr. Orde, who is universally known to be a man of polished manners. He thinks that the censure is unjust. To Mr. Orde, considered personally, he attributed the language of the gentleman and of the scholar; but he cannot acquit Mr. Orde of the slanderous, illiberal, and scurrilous declamations, with which those in Office under him repeatedly insulted the public. When the character and origin of such beings are weighed, their consequence and conduct must excite the idea of despotism: for it has always been held as a mark of despotism, to see the *novi homines* raised on high, and encouraged to trample on those to whom they were wont to bow!—The author sees no cause why he should alter his opinion with regard to Mr. Orde's system of education: he must ever consider it as a barbarous infringement of the rights of conscience, and the rights of paternal authority; a gothic edict against the improvement of our rational faculties. Moreover, it makes no provision for two most necessary orders of men; the Catholic clergy, and the Presbyterian clergy; unless Mr Orde's intention was, that a protestant professor

fessor should read lectures of theology to Presbyterian and Catholic pupils. The author can see no foundation for the praise lavished on that system, by the directors of a certain patriotic print, for purposes unknown to him, and through motives best known to themselves. Perhaps they attended only to the words with which things were clothed by Mr. Orde, and gave him credit for the substance. Here also does the natural pliancy of language appear, by which it may be adapted to any thing. But if men are not on their guard against the abuse of language, the perversion of terms, the tricks and artifices of speech-jugglers, they will no longer distinguish between truth and falsehood, virtue and vice. Nature will have placed in vain insurmountable barriers between these objects: she will hold out to no purpose their essential characteristics; and our boasted reason will only serve to mislead.



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CRITICAL REVIEW,

Ec. Ec. Ec.

MY LORD,

YOUR celebrated publication *On the present State of the Church of Ireland*, having gone through six editions in less than one month, raised my expectations to a very high degree. I thought it would surpass in substance, as well as in form, the many vile productions which have of late appeared for the pious purpose of alarming and deceiving, in the same proportion as your Lordship's exalted station overlooks the narrow boundaries of grovelling mortals. Your name, prefixed to this performance, I first considered as a mark of sincerity which challenged applause; and though I have since perceived its real tendency, I shall not avail myself of the advantage which it affords me by any personal attacks on your Lordship; your reasoning, my Lord, and not your person, shall be the object of my censures. If my criticism can claim no other merit, it shall, at least,
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be fair: the little arts of sophistry I disdain, the cause of truth requires no such assistance. In examining, and in combating your arguments, I shall state simple facts; compare only those things which naturally bear a comparison, and grasp at no more in my conclusions, than what is entirely contained in, and immediately flows from, my premises. Reason, I trust, shall be my guide. I shall endeavour to preserve that coolness which it demands, and that respect for the public which it inspires. At the same time I beg leave to apprise your Lordship, that I mean to argue with that freedom which becomes a man, and with that indifference to rank or station which philosophy prescribes; for we no sooner descend to the ground of argument, than philosophy places us all on a level.

My Lord, I am much disappointed in my expectations: Your laboured pamphlet, with an advertisement to the reader, an introduction, a postscript, and three appendixes, is in substance the same with those wretched compositions which the candid mind must ever reprobate, and the man of reason despise. It wears, it is true, a different dress, common decency required it; but the same misrepresentations, the same gratuitous assumption of principles, the same loose conclusions, the same unfair comparisons, the same evasions, slights and feints pervade the whole. Things are managed, I own, with an art and plausibility capable of imposing on the bigotted, the superficial, and the unread, and of this merit I leave your Lordship in full possession.

The work is divided into eight sections. I shall follow your Lordship step by step, and be as brief as the subject matter will permit.

SECTION

SECTION I.

THE first section opens with a curious train of very fanciful, and very groundless speculations, on the natural conformity of different religions, with different forms of government. We are told that Popery is the religion of despotic states, Calvinism of republics, and that free mixed governments, such as ours, cannot subsist without the reformation of Luther, or Episcopacy, as it is called. These airy fictions are very flattering to the pious Protestant of the established church; for our civil constitution is said to be confessedly the best that ever existed, and of course the religion which only suits it, must have an undisputed claim to perfection and excellence. To support this theory, the religious tenets of Catholics and of Presbyterians are pointed out, and to confirm the truth of it, the evidence of historical facts is confidently appealed to. But, my Lord, history is, in this instance, so garbled and so falsified, that we can already perceive with what ease you can build a system. Fancy has only to conceive the outlines as you wish; out of the immense stock of human affairs, let those materials only be selected which serve your purpose; and if any occur which do not suit, let them be fashioned and adapted as you command. Such are the rules from which your system sprung: a system so opposite to nature, and to genuine historical facts, that I need only adduce them, and it moulders away without the aid of any reasoning *a priori*.

It is a fact, my Lord, that the Catholic religion comprises within her pale more Republics than any other religion upon earth!—After the subver-

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sion of the Roman Empire, where did Republics first arise and liberty rear her head? In Catholic Italy. Where are republics now most numerous and most jealous of their freedom? In Catholic Italy. The Catholic Cantons of Switzerland are democratic, and exhibit civil liberty in her highest perfection; the Protestant Cantons are aristocratic. It is only in these Cantons, and in the Republic of Holland, that Presbyterianism, as a state religion, rejects the idea of a King. In Scotland it does not, nor did it in Navarre, when Henry the Fourth of France ruled in that kingdom. Lutheranism is the state religion in Prussia, and Prussia is as despotic a government as any in Europe. The Lutheran Electors are absolute, as well as the kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark; “but “ they were not so immediately after they adopted the Protestant religion;” true, my Lord, nor were they so when they were Catholic—Spain, with her Cortes, and France with her States General, were Catholic, and enjoyed a greater share of civil liberty than any other kingdoms then in being.—Even in Britain, our boasted constitution was first framed by Catholics. Magna Charta was obtained by Catholic Barons.—Here, my Lord, I must express my astonishment, and reclaim that candour which you profess, and which justice demands.—You adduce the obtaining of Magna Charta as a proof that our civil and religious constitutions are essentially interwoven; and you say, that the first article in that famous Charter was, that the Church of England should preserve her rights and immunities. You thus evidently intimate, that the Church of England was then Protestant: And could you forget, my Lord, or could you think that your fondest admirers would forget, that the Barons who obtained that Charter were headed by a Pope’s Legate? My Lord,

Lord, I am astonished, and I leave the public to judge of the degree of candour which they are to expect.—From the preceding facts, which no man can controvert with effect, it may be concluded: But before I draw my conclusion, I must take notice of the religious tenets which you ascribe to different denominations of Christians, and which you say tend to produce different forms of government. My Lord, I must here remark, that your language is, in many places, very vague and indeterminate, so that were I to enter into a discussion of it with minute accuracy, I should be under the necessity of writing volumes on your pamphlet; I must therefore, often aim at your meaning in a general manner. If I mistake it in the smallest instance, let me be set right, for I most solemnly protest, that no wilful misrepresentation shall drop from my pen.

When you say, that Papal tyranny is a fit engine for despotic power, if I understand you right, your meaning is, that Catholics allow the Pope all power and authority, whence his right to an universal denomination in all cases whatsoever. This doctrine, though constantly disclaimed by every Catholic university, school, or approved writer in the world, is still most charitably imputed to them. My Lord, the religious tenets of Roman Catholics, with regard to the Pope's authority, and the origin of that confusion in which pious calumniators have involved it, I shall briefly state.

Catholics consider the authority of their church as merely spiritual, matters of faith being the only object of that authority. They think that Christ established two orders in his church, the order of Bishops and the order of Priests. The Pope they hold to be chief Bishop, head of the church, center of unity. Each order they believe to be in-

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vested with particular independent rights, and all confined within the boundaries established from the beginning, so that no power on earth can frame a new article of faith. They think the Gospel affords evident proofs of pre-eminence, or supremacy, granted to St. Peter over the rest of the Apostles; and church history informs them, that the Bishops of Rome, his successors, exercised this supremacy over all other Bishops from the earliest antiquity. Those several powers and rights of Chief Bishop, Bishops, and Priests, subsisted for many centuries, while no Bishop or Priest on earth possessed any temporal power or riches; they intermeddled not in civil or political matters; wherefore, as the sacred orders held their powers independent of, and separate from, all human affairs, so in after times, when the bounty of Princes, and piety of individuals, called them to affluence and to wordly consequence, their spiritual powers are not thought to be by these means either increased or diminished: Nay, while a thick darkness settled over the western world; while the clergy possessed enormous wealth and enormous power; while abuses and scandals multiplied, it never was an article of faith in the Catholic Church, that our obedience was due to Priest, Bishop, or Pope, in any cases different from matters of faith; and yet the abuses of which Churchmen have been guilty, by interfering in political matters, by grasping at temporal power, and by wielding spiritual arms for its support, are, to this day, charged on Catholics as tenets of their religion, by the bigoted, the designing, and the ignorant. Though no man reprobates these abuses more than I do, yet the love of truth obliges me to say, that they have been exaggerated, and placed in a false and malignant light, by an undistinguishing bigotry. The slightest acquaintance

ance with the history of mankind, with the different characters and manners of different ages, will exhibit things in their true light.

When the vile torrent of barbarians had overwhelmed the Roman Empire, and left no trace of literature, arts, or sciences, a general darkness overspread the West, which continued for many ages. These times are very absurdly called by some, the ages of popish or monkish ignorance; whereas no fact is more true in history, than that whatever light remained was to be found with the Pope, the monks, and the secular clergy. Various causes contributed to the continuation of this darkness, and during such a gloomy period, a barbarous superstition, a perversion of natural justice, succeeded to a want of written laws or of any jurisprudence. Society felt the dire influence in the civil as well as political department, and the open wounds which Christian morality received, induced the clergy to interfere in temporal matters, sometimes with the best intentions, and often from a sense of their duty. The confusion also into which the laity were often thrown, and their insufficiency to remedy the most serious evils, laid them under a necessity of appealing to the clergy, who were the most, I might have said the only, competent judges in these barbarous ages. The clergy did not refuse to accept of an honorable office, and thus to increase their power and influence; nor do I know a protestant prelate who would refuse such an offer this day. The sovereign pontiffs were in like manner appealed to by emperors and kings, and by subjects against their sovereigns: for the tenure of thrones must be then precarious, and the political machine very unstable, when no well regulated government was to be found.—The popes availed themselves of these opportunities—Their temporal power soon
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grew into a regular form. This power they sometimes carried to the most indecent excesses : but it must be also owned that the often exercised it for the benefit of mankind. The great Leibnitz, a protestant, but not a bigot, a man who looked over nature with a philosophic eye, declares that this power has often saved mankind from great evils. It is surely ridiculous in the extreme, to speak of his power as if it had been the only tyrannical power upon earth, whereas few, very few, earthly powers, appear in any age, that are not justly chargeable with tyranny and oppression.

Whatever may be said for or against the temporal power of Popes, it is certain that the causes which gave rise and support to it no sooner began to vanish than it fled with them. The first dawn of light scarce appeared when it was seen to totter ; and it ceased to be formidable before Luther arose. The light of that age is not his. The golden days of Leo owe nothing to the reformation of Luther.—At present this power exists no where except in the ecclesiastical state, where the Pope is acknowledged as a temporal sovereign. In Spain or Portugal it is no more felt or dreaded than in Prussia or England ; nay it is worthy of remark, that in the catholic republic of Venice, adjoining the ecclesiastical state, the clergy are more completely debarred from civil and political concerns than in any protestant state in Europe. Need I say more, my Lord, to shew that your principle of papal tyranny is void of foundation ?

The levelling principle which you ascribe to presbyterians is not better founded ; it is a vague word without meaning, which satisfies some people because it flatters their prejudices. Presbyterians allow but one order of churchmen, that of elders,

elders, which they establish by election of the people. The offices and duties of churchmen they consider as spiritual, and allow them no temporal authority.—If we suppose that Presbyterians lay a peculiar stress on the natural rights of mankind; and on that idea of natural liberty, which leads to a democratic government, we must not imagine that they therefore overlook what society demands. They allow that different manners, different maxims, and different situations may require different forms of government among different people; that the peace and good order of society are to be supported, and that no ends are to be pursued by base means. With these restrictions every rational Catholic and Church of England Man will agree to the maxim, that all people are by right entitled to the enjoyment of as great a share of liberty as the security, peace, and happiness of society will admit; and that this share of liberty should be measured, not by the fears, whims, and fancies of bigots and tyrants, but by the rules of reason, which being invariable, would ever appear just to all parties.

My Lord, you, moreover, mean, that the odious principles of which I have been speaking, exert their influence, not only among Catholics and Presbyterians, but that they extend farther, and necessarily tend to destroy the establishments of others. If you mean the spiritual establishments, and would thus persuade the world that the two *dissenting bodies* are inclined to that worst species of tyranny, the forcing of consciences, nothing can be more false or illiberal: they disavow, they condemn such intolerance. In barbarous ages, it is true, a perversion of their religious tenets, and a corruption of their principles, sometimes occasioned by a base alloy of political ideas, hurried Christians of every description into these enormities;

mities ; but these times have passed away, and the bigotry to which they gave rise is no more ; all parties have shared in it, and in the discussion of it the Lutherans would not be the gainers.— Whatever degree of spirituality the word establishment conveys, the temporalities of the church are evidently its grand object : Temporalities, my Lord, which occupy the fore-ground, nay the whole ground of your pamphlet. Temporalities, which seem to be, with your Lordship, *the one thing needful*. Temporalities, without which you seem not to conceive either church or religion, or morality ; and in the limiting, endangering, or extending of which, we imagine you think that virtue itself is limited, endangered, or extended. Without dwelling at present on the absurdity of these notions, which your Lordship assumes as so many principles, I shall speak of the general sense of the Christian world on the subject, more especially of the sense of Catholics, as they have had the greatest experience in these matters.

Catholics conceive, that the church can subsist without any fixed temporalities appropriated for the use of the clergy. Such was the case, say they, in primitive times, and primitive times were most certainly the brightest and purest ages of Christianity. It is, however, pretty generally acknowledged, that a decent competency, proportioned to the rank of Churchmen, is at present useful, and perhaps necessary. But that temporalities should be excessive, unchangeable, unalienable, are ideas which Catholics have long since exploded as prejudicial to religion, and to the propagation of it. Some Catholic powers have set about correcting these abuses ; for they consider them as such ; and if the temporal power of the clergy, and their influence over sovereigns did
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not prevent it, the sense of the Catholic world would, I believe, tend to an opposite extreme! In this kingdom it may be pretty generally observed, that the humble farmer contributes more to the scanty support of the poor parish priest than the man of immense landed property. Such is that formidable propensity of Catholics to pull down every thing for the purpose of erecting temporal establishments for their clergy!

But, my Lord, you profess to consider the church only in a political light, as essentially interwoven with the constitution; so that this great fabric is most seriously threatened if the smallest change happens in the temporalities of the church. —My Lord, all this is very vague, ambiguous, and fallacious: I suspect it contains some Pagan ideas which Christianity rejects —In Pagan times scarce a legislator appeared who did not make use of religion as a political engine to give weight and stability to his code of laws: but this use of false religion was very different from that to which Christianity is by its nature adapted. False religion was a necessary ingredient in the civil constitutions of Pagan times. The feeble light of the natural law was not sufficient to regulate or to restrain the passions of men: and when these passions are in a general tide let loose upon society, no government can subsist. It was then necessary that false religion, by powerfully operating on the fears and superstitions of men, should supply a remedy which human wisdom could not provide. But under the Christian dispensation, when the darkest recesses are illuminated by a light truly divine; when the means of rectifying every disorder, and of restraining every excess, are clearly pointed out, all that a wise and good government should require from the church is, that the clergy do exert themselves with indefatigable
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zeal in performing their functions. Thus would morality flourish. Thus would individuals see and love their duty. Thus would society tend to perfection, and governments become stable and secure.—According to these ideas no state religion is necessary. All the different forms of Christianity might enjoy equal liberty under the same civil constitution, and all equally contribute to its support—Neither is the notion of a state religion contrary to reason, or to the general good, when by state religion is meant a particular form of worship which government endows with particular privileges and temporalities, so as not to infringe on the rights or interests of any class of people. In this sense a state religion might have its advantages: but to say that it or the civil constitution, under which it derives, can be secured or benefited, by excessive temporalities bestowed on the clergy, by an unequal mode of taxation, by oppressive and vexatious distinctions, is not warranted by reason, by humanity, or by sound policy: much less can such a means of propagating or of supporting religion be reconciled with that enlightened zeal which the Gospel points out, and which Churchmen should adopt. My Lord, I could here expostulate on the want of that enlightened zeal in the clergy, and clearly shew that the virtues which this zeal inspires are not practicable or agreeable amidst the enjoyment of the good things of this life. Hence the frequent appeals to the civil power for the protection of religion, a means very ill suited to the end proposed, a means that must ever defeat itself; for the civil power can only uphold the external form of religion, while the substance will decay for want of its natural supports.

It is time, my Lord, that we speak of conclusions. Your conclusions from the strange positions
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to which we have been speaking is strange indeed, and sufficient to damn whole volumes of reasoning; for if the conclusion shocks common sense, the premises from which it has been drawn must be false and groundless. That more than nine tenths of the people of Ireland are not entitled to national confidence, is a conclusion replete with political mischief, and to none more alarming than to government. It equally militates against the Emperor's Lutheran subjects, and would universally authorise as cruel tyranny as was ever exercised on the score of religion.—My conclusions are very different, they say that all descriptions of Christians may be well affected, and cordially attached to any form of government which provides for their temporal happiness. That the peace and good order of society are with them capital objects not to be hazarded, except in cases of the last extremity. That spiritual and temporal concerns are by nature distinct, and must appear so to all Christians who would sincerely adhere to the religious tenets which they profess. That these tenets always coinciding with, and strengthening the laws of nature, teach Christians to risk property, and even life for the public weal, in the cause of their country, or in defence of their sovereign, whatever be his religious persuasion. That the conversion of those who are thought to be in error, being a matter purely spiritual, should only be attempted by spiritual means as the Gospel directs, by persuasion, good example, &c.—Our conclusion, my Lord, are quite opposite, which of them future statemen will adopt for the regulation of their conduct I shall not pretend to say; sure I am that mine are more agreeable to the principles of Christianity.

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My Lord, before I quit your first section, I must take notice of the attempt which you make to give some colour to the monstrous principles with which you set out. The proofs of the religious tenets of Catholics, being such as would suit your Lordship's purpose, are curious indeed. To me it seems reasonable, that on this question, recourse should be had to the decisions of the Councils, the doctrine of the Universities, or at least the common catechisms of Catholics, not to the idle vagaries of individuals on matters in which they are allowed no concern. Your Lordship has chosen the latter way, no doubt, because it seemed the way to truth. You recede from a luminous and beaten track, you turn from the celebrated works of Catholic writers, and you light on the *Hibernia Dominicana*, in which you find the letter * of a Pope's Nuncio.—An admirable discovery! But, my Lord, if Catholics despise this obscure work as much as you do—if it was censured as soon as it appeared by an assembly of Catholic bishops—is it a proper source for general conclusions? Justice and candour are here violated as well as logic. Far be it from me to set down to the charge of the Protestants of Ireland, or of any other country, the many points of destable doctrine contained, not in conclusions but in principles, which I could cull out of some of their writers; yes, my Lord out of the very fathers of the reformation. I would not urge such an argument, your Lordship would not admit it, and yet I defy your Lordship to show a disparity.

* The misrepresentations on this letter, and on the consecration oath of Catholic bishops, are fully laid open in the excellent performances of the most Rev. Dr. Butler and of the Rev. Mr. O'Leary. As the Bishop of Cloyne's reasoning is the object of my criticism, to strike at its foundation is sufficient for my purpose.

disparity.—Great indeed seems to be y our Lordship's condescension in admitting the Gallican liberties ; but you do so with a view of bearing hard on the rest of the Catholic world. In as much as these liberties secure the supreme temporal power of the state, they are universal. No Catholic state on earth, except the ecclesiastical, allows the Pope any temporal authority ; in this assertion I am not to be refuted.—What your Lordship says of the bull Unigenitus, betrays a strange want of information. The Gallican liberties, you say, did not gain ground by the proceedings in 1765 on the bull Unigenitus. My Lord, the bull Unigenitus was issued in the beginning of the present century, at the request of all the Bishops of France, except three or four, and at the desire of the then reigning King, Lewis XIV. It went to condemn certain errors on the very abstruse doctrine of grace ; and how it could affect the Gallican liberties I know not. Your anachronism I could more readily forgive, though with the loss of more than half a century, than many other things contained in your first section.

My Lord, I have examined, and, I think, disjointed the most material parts of your first section. It still contains many hints which might lead to long discussions ; but I have already passed my limits, and shall proceed on, hoping to find a place, before I finish, for these well meant innuendoes. The final purport of your first section seems to be, to fill the Protestants of the established church with fears and alarms, and thus prepare them for the reception of whatever you please. This is one of those sophistical stratagems with which your Lordships seems well acquainted, and to which your pamphlet seems much indebted. Another stratagem of the same kind, universally diffused through the remaining sections, I shall beg

leave to mention. It is to level your chief force against a phantom, or to point to an insignificant collateral circumstance, as the main fort of the opposite side; to direct your approaches and attacks on this ground with ostentation and parade, avoiding, or slightly touching upon the great difficulties which confront you, and which as yet remain entire. By this stratagem the superficial part of mankind easily lose sight of the question, and readily submit to a train of reasoning, which may be in itself faultless, but which has no more relation to the point in question, than Morocco has to Indostan. My Lord, this mode of attack may display your abilities, but does not prove the goodness of your cause; it may amuse the prejudiced and the ignorant, but it will never impose on men of reason.—Your second section affords many instances of this sophistical stratagem.

SECTION II.

IN this section you bring forward the business of tithes, a most serious subject, and the grand subject of which you profess to treat. But instead of fairly stating the question, you go aside, and set up the charge of extortion as the point in debate. On this ground, my Lord, a triumph was easy. The antiquity of tithes, their establishment by the law of the land, a provision in this law making it impossible to exact more than the value of the tithe, are points which naturally lead to a clear and pretty reasoning, in the sequel of which, even the miscreant crew of Proctors, Tithe-Farmers and Canters. are brought off with flying colours. Those who consider your Lordship's arguments as

so many demonstrations, must here express their surprise and indignation, at the general and constant out-cry of the people against persons and things so inoffensive and so harmless. For my part, accustomed as I am to pay great deference to the voice of the people, more especially when they speak from their natural feelings, I no sooner heard of your demonstrations, than I set them down as false, deeming it impossible that the judgment of the people could in this case be wrong. On investigation, I think I have seen the fallacy of your reasoning, and shall now, as well as I am able, point it out.

My Lord, the question is not about that which no man controverts ; about the legality of tithes, the antiquity of the establishment, &c. The question is, whether this establishment, so ancient, so universal, so strongly sanctioned by statute law, be not a grievance, and the nearest grievance which oppresses that most useful and oppressed part of the community, the tillers of the earth. The antiquity which you ascribe to the establishment of tithes, I cannot admit. You trace it up to Constantine the first Christian Emperor, I can find no proof of it before the days of Charlemagne. It was this great Emperor who first established tithes. He lived in a barbarous age, in which all things seemed in a state of fluctuation.—That perfection to which the dealings and intercourse of mankind are at present brought, by the various signs and substitutes universally agreed to, was then unknown ; even the rent was paid in kind. In this state of barbarism, a blind zeal sometimes induced the people to confer all the landed estates on the Clergy ; at other times an hungry and rapacious soldiery, with as little ceremony, stripped the sacred order of every thing.—Under such circumstances, the manner of supporting the Clergy, introduced

introduced by Charlemagne, seemed the most eligible, because the least liable to abuse ; but that the charge or tax for this support should be fixed to a tenth, and not to a twentieth or thirtieth part of the produce of the earth, was, I believe, from a respect and veneration for the law of Moses, rather than from any fitness or necessity observed in the nature of things. For even then tithes seemed too heavy a burthen, and Charlemagne's project did not succeed at first. When the people consented at last to pay the tithes, it was on condition that they might have a power of redeeming them ; and the famous division of the tithes into four parts, for the repairing of the churches ; for the poor ; for the Bishop ; and for the Clergy ; manifestly proves, that the tenth part of the produce of the earth, for the support of the Clergy alone, would be an enormous burthen. If this reasoning be just ; if a twentieth, instead of a tenth part be as much as the people can well afford, then a vast space is left for litigations, vexations, and oppressions, between a twentieth part, which reason points out, and a tenth part, which the law allows. Hence the term extortion will not appear quite so absurd as your Lordship would intimate, if any regard be paid to natural justice. Hence the tenderness and humanity of certain Clergymen will be estimated at a lower rate than your Lordship seems to wish. Hence the venerable tribe of Proctors, Tithe-Farmers, and canters, will fall back to that infamy to which the public voice has long consigned them.

But your Lordship takes upon you to prove, contrary to the general sense of mankind, that tithes not only are not, but cannot be a burthen. This is one of those points which you slightly touch upon ; you argue, however, with the utmost confidence, and your arguments are curious indeed ;

indeed ; they amount to this, the cottager, when he took the land at a certain rent, was perfectly aware that the tenth part of the produce, though raised by his labour, was due to the parish minister. If, therefore, the burthen of both rent and tithes be too heavy, it must be the fault of the tenant who promised too high a rent, or the fault of the landlord who exacted it.—And do you forget, My Lord, the logical maxim, “ What “ proves too much proves nothing.” According to this mode of arguing, if, instead of the tithe, the two thirds or the half of the produce of the earth were allotted to the Clergy, the people should not complain. If the burthen was too heavy, it must be the fault of the landlord or tenant ; for at all events, it seems the clergy must be faultless. In like manner, if a legislature imposed on the people the heaviest taxes which can possibly be conceived, if the people were timely apprized of the matter, they should not count it a grievance : for then landlord and tenant, before they entered into an agreement, were perfectly aware of what was due to the state, and should manage their business accordingly. Such, my Lord, are the consequences which flow from your arguments ; consequences which cannot bear the test of reason.

My Lord, I have said that your comparisons are often unfair. We need go no farther to prove that assertion. You compare the minister’s tithes to the landlord’s estate. You say that the title which the incumbent of a parish has to the tithe of it, is similar, and in many respects superior, to that which the landed gentleman has to his estate. If this comparison was founded in truth, it would admirably serve your purpose. Hence it would follow, that no power in the state has a right to meddle with tithes ; and that if an urgent necessity
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called for the protection of agriculture, the legislature should begin with the landlords. Hence again the public odium should be directed against the rack-rents, and not against the tithes.—My Lord, the dominion and the use of things are very different. The dominion supposes the proprietor of land entitled to do what he pleases with his property, to sell, or bestow, to alienate, &c. nor do I know how any power can, with equity, dictate to a loyal subject in the management of his property. The use of a thing allows no such liberty; nor can it be conceived independent of that power which first ordained it. These consequences you admit in a note, though with seeming reluctance; but still you retain and strain hard for the principle, in order to prove that the rack-rents are the only cause of grievances, the existence of which no man can be found hardy enough to deny.

It is certain, that many and various causes jointly concur in producing the unexampled misery of the poor of Ireland.—When we speak of alleviating so general and so inveterate a distress, we should point to those causes which most generally and most immediately apply, and which are most capable of being removed.—Rack-rents are a very general cause of distress; but such a cause cannot be directly removed by law. If we go farther, and look for the cause of rack-rents, we shall readily perceive, that the luxury diffused among us by our good neighbours, and the subtraction of the means to support it by their detestable monopoly, will account for this evil.—Neither can luxury be removed by law. Its progress may be checked, its baneful influence counteracted. If luxury has raised the rents of land, let the people be enabled to bear them. If this aid be not near, let the people be eased of another burthen,

burthen, and to the granting of this relief the state is fully competent.

That the full tenth part of the produce of the earth, though divided into four parts for different purposes, was considered, in its origin, as too heavy a burden, I have shewn above. That it has ever since appeared in the same light is manifest, I think, from the following considerations. In all parts of the Continent with which I am acquainted, and I have had my information from many, what is called tithe scarce ever amounts to a fifteenth, most generally not to a twentieth, and in many places is no more than a fiftieth part of the produce of the earth. In this kingdom, according to your Lordship's declarations, the Clergy never receive the full tithe ; and the Clergy, my Lord, I speak it without prejudice, have never been remarkable, in any country, for receding from their rights and emoluments, when these rights could be readily obtained.

To say that tithes are no burden, because, if they be taken away, the rents will rise in proportion, is absurd and false. The same might be said of any taxes, and who will say that taxes are never burdensome? If tithes be such an universal and salutary check over rents, what will account for the exorbitant rise of land within these forty years past, while trade was on the decline? Tithes did not prevent this rise, nor would they, if removed, occasion such another.—If avarice had been the universal cause which excited landlords to merciless exactions, it might with some shew of reason be said, that, if tithes were removed, the rents would rise in proportion. The avaricious man coolly weighs and considers when and how he can add to his treasure. With reflection and with foresight he exacts the last farthing.—For the honour of human nature I will not, neither will

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reason allow me to support such a general cause of rack-rents. But if luxury be that universal cause, then can I with reason say, that luxury creates new appetites, new necessities, to which the best of minds are impelled to minister, without regarding the consequences ; that luxury has its degrees ; and that when once it settles to a national standard, it leaves room for humanity, benevolence, and generosity to operate in benefiting mankind. It cannot, therefore, with justice, be inferred, that a proportionable rise of land will follow from a removal of tithes, as luxury, the true cause of rack-rents, has already spent its force.—But suppose such a relation to subsist between rents and tithes. Suppose rents to rise as tithes diminish, can it on a fair comparison be said, that the removal of tithes would be no alleviation ?—The rent is a fixed price for land, agreed to by landlord and tenant, for a certain number of years, the shortest term being generally thirty-one years. During this period encouragement and rewards are held out to industry. If the first ten years be employed in improvements with little or no profit, twenty-one years remain for the grateful soil to make ample returns.—How different are tithes ? They are not a price for land ; they are a great share of its produce, they are a part of the husbandman's labour, and of the sweat of his brow ; they are not fixed, they increase in proportion to his toils, and thus controul the spirit and defeat the end of industry.—Such are the various inconveniences which attend this ancient mode of supporting the Clergy. And yet we may still consider tithes in a most unfavourable point of view. They fall with redoubled weight upon agriculture, since grazing lands have been freed from the burden.—This charge in tithes has not escaped your Lordship's notice, nor the notice of those

those who have appeared on your side. It has been argued against and condemned with vehemence: but as you have all confined yourselves to the injustice and loss sustained by the Clergy, I may be allowed to confine myself to the distress brought on that most useful and numerous, though humble, part of the community, the tillers of the earth; and to the national calamities which have abundantly ensued.

Grazing has been long encouraged in this unhappy island, for reasons very just and very patriotic no doubt.—To free grazing lands from the burden of tithes, was to throw that burden, in some degree, upon agriculture; but this was not all the evil. The grazier, freed from paying tithes, became capable of paying a higher rent, and was never wanting to outbid the farmer. The landlords, who required no such inducement, were thus powerfully tempted to exact rack-rents, the unfortunate farmer bid high, promised, struggled, and failed. Still attached to the business to which he was reared, he turned another side, began again, failed again, and at last fell into utter ruin.—Such has been the fate of our once happy farmers, who to hide their misery and shame, have stolen into the suburbs and outparts of cities and towns, there to pass away life in the greatest wretchedness that the sun has ever witnessed, unknown and forgotten. Our cities and towns are swoln by their numbers, but such collections of the human species do not prove either an increase of population, or an increase of prosperity. They are in the political body so many morbid tumours, in which the salutary juices that other parts have been deprived of are vitiated and corrupted. The fertile plains of Ireland seem sacred to the brute creation. The miserable inhabitants who are scattered over the

land, see every regard and respect paid to the beasts of the field; they know no more of them, and it is well if the folly of the Egyptians be not revived amongst us!—The extensive baneful influence of this depopulation and empoverishment on our arts and manufactures, on our foreign and domestic trade, on our civil and political prosperity, need not be mentioned.—Enough has been said to shew, that tithes are too heavy a burden, full of vexation and oppression, and extending widely in destructive consequences. My Lord, to make the charge of extortion the subject of your second section, was to throw a Veil over things which could not be supported.

SECTION III.

YOUR third section affords still greater marks of the sophistical stratagems to which I have alluded. Throughout all this section you are closely engaged with phantoms. You make great efforts to beat down an opposition, which your imagination has created, and after a long contest, you come off victorious as might be naturally expected.—You make the revenues of the parochial clergy the subject of debate. You pretend that the people complain of the riches of the clergy, as if the objections to tithes originated in such complaints. You enter into minute calculations with mathematical accuracy, and the result is, that the net sum of 133l. 6s. would be left for each clergyman if the national allotment were distributed in equal portions.—We may here observe, that bishop's lands are left out of the
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minute calculations ; that these lands produce a vast fund ; that they were originally set apart for the poor, of whom bishops were considered the trustees. This institution has antiquity to plead. Why pervert it ? Why not mention it ? Are we to be answered that charity begins at home ? And that the left hand should not know what the right hand doth ? My Lord, you present to us only such things as you think will serve your purpose. You draw a comparison between our parochial appointments as you have stated them, and the incomes of foreign clergy. You take a survey of Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland, and you find the clergy in all these countries much better provided for than with us.—The unequal distribution of the clerical fund, being a point of some moment, is hastily hurried over without any discussion ; and you finish the section in asking, what particular mischief could ensue from the wealth of the clergy, as they make no worse use of their riches than other people ?—One thing, my Lord, in this inquiry seems to be in direct contradiction with what you had before laid down as a principle. You here set forth that the Catholic Bishops and secular clergy almost always supported their national princes against Papal encroachments ; and in your first section you lay it down as a principle, that all the Catholic Bishops in the world are mere tools of Papal power. My Lord, your memory must have failed you in this instance, or you had too great a reliance on the want of it in your readers.—As to the arguments, calculations, and facts contained in your third section, they are all wide of the question, and of course go for nothing.

My Lord the question is not about the revenues of the clergy ; about Scotland, Holland, or Switzerland. The question is simply this ;—
whether

whether the tithes, as they stand at present in this kingdom, be not too heavy a burden, and a national grievance.—Those who think so agree that a greater fund than the Clergy draw from the tithes might be raised for their support, without any show of oppression; and in this case, it must be a matter of surprise to the unprejudiced, how a clamour could be raised, on the part of the clergy, against a change of mode of subsistence, which must be to them, of all others, the most disagreeable. We are here led to a consideration of what your Lordship passes over so lightly, the unequal distribution of the clerical fund.

My Lord, the inequality is too great for any reason to support it. That a wretched curate should be allowed but 50*l.* a year to support himself and family during life, and the pampered dignitary ten or fifteen thousand, cannot bear examination. And it may well be supposed, that the outcries and alarms against any change, or innovation whatsoever, propagated only by those who wallow in temporal luxuries under spiritual names; and who dread least the public eye might be directed, by a spirit of reform once begun, to those excrescences in church and state, which stifle all spiritual sentiments in their possessors, while they deprive thousands of temporal subsistence.—Much may be said, rejoins your Lordship, for a subordination of ranks amongst the clergy as well as in the army or navy: true, my Lord; such a subordination I admit, and incomes proportioned to different ranks I would not refuse: but let not church livings exceed all proportion; let not the gaudy trappings of Eastern luxury surround the ministers of the Gospel, and invite the fascinating train of worldly pleasures, while the rugged paths of the vineyard of the
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Lord are deserted, and the soil is left a prey to brambles and to thorns.

My Lord, the many queries in the conclusion of your third section tend only to shew that clergymen are not worse than others. "Do they," demands your Lordship, "encourage vice more, or national manufactures, and charity, less than other men? My Lord, if I understand the Gospel right, churchmen should be very different from other men. They are called the light of the world, the salt of the earth; and these expressions, with many others of a similar nature, which stand forward in holy writ, necessarily require from the ministers of religion an indefatigable zeal in teaching, in preaching, and in the practice of the purest morality; a zeal which alone can diffuse the light of the Gospel through all ranks, from the philosopher and the courtier, to the peasant and the slave.

If the want of a decent competency be a check to these great exertions; exorbitant wealth must totally remove them. It induces luxury, and invites the slothful, the luxurious, and the worldly into the vineyard of the Lord. It deadens all manly efforts of the soul, and most especially overwhelms and absorbs spiritual exertions.—The experience of ages bears testimony to what I say, and the voice of the Protestants of Ireland confirms it beyond dispute. They loudly complain that the want of residence, and the want of exertions, are in exact proportion to the greatness of incomes. Little more is known of the pampered dignitary than that he enjoys a good living.

My Lord, I have somewhat deviated from the question. "The unequal distribution of the "clerical fund" is not the main point; but it seemed to me a point of some moment; I might have overlooked it, if a charge, which must operate
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to the good of agriculture, to the good of the nation, and to the good of the clerical body, was not so violently and so unfairly opposed by those who possess so great, and so unequal, a portion of the clerical fund, and who seem conscious of the abuse by their excessive outcries against the reform of distant abuses.

My Lord, I have already stated the question, and shewn that all your facts, and all your calculations, fall short of it. We may, therefore, proceed to your fourth section.

S E C T I O N I V .

MY Lord, in the close of your third section, you mention a charge of remissness brought against the established clergy, on account of the few converts made to the Protestant religion. In the beginning of the same section the duties of churchmen are represented full of importance, and full of difficulty; but they are not explained with that accuracy which is necessary for information. Some of your Lordship's expressions are very general, very equivocal, and very incoherent. For instance, "to watch over, and extend the Protestant interest," are expressions which often carried along with them, in this unhappy island, an idea of the rankest oppression and injustice: "the danger of weakening the connexion of this kingdom with Great-Britain," is still made a cover for plunder and rapine: "but to impress on the minds of Protestants a Christian spirit of love to their fellow-citizens who differ from them in religious opinions," is a phrase so solitary

tary, so helpless, and so forlorn, that it excited my pity.—I looked behind me and before me, to the right and to the left. My Lord, in no part of your pamphlet is there to be found a principle that can agree with or assist this evangelical maxim: all appears in stern opposition.—Was it then thrown out in order to render more odious those hateful objects which it cannot reach?

The picture which your Lordship draws of Presbyterians and of Catholics, renders their speedy conversion to the established religion a matter of political necessity. Yet the enlightened statesman, not liable to be dazzled by false colouring, would look for and require other services from the clergy whom he pays. He would consider the morals of the people; and if he were told that he must not mistrust the clergy, for that “the province of education was committed to their care,” he would naturally inquire, how did learning and morality stand? If he found them at a lower ebb in this kingdom than in any other country in Europe, how idle would it be to rest the defence of the clergy on their dutiful and orderly demeanour? And I defy malice to contradict the fact! For let the fact be admitted, and it implies no more than what will aptly suit any other order of men in the community; even the lowest order of mechanics. My Lord, the conversion of men to the established religion, however political in its tendency, should, I conceive, be attempted only by spiritual means. In the account which you give of the little progress hitherto made in this business, and of the future arrangements which promise success, you leave all to the legislature, and you seem to relinquish all dependence on spiritual arms. The only obstacles which you meet to the great work of conversion are of the temporal kind; you arrange them

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under the title of “ defects in the settlement of the “ church of Ireland :” and these defects you make the subject of your fourth section.

The first defect is the small number of clergymen. By comparing our clergy with those of England, and of the United Provinces, you shew that ours fall far short of the necessary number : but your comparison is as usual unfair ; you fix it not by the number of the flock, but by the number of acres ; now, in Ireland, even abstracting from the difference of population, it is well known that many extensive parishes are found without a Protestant inhabitant, and who will say that a church, a glebe, and a parish-minister are there necessary ? My Lord, our clergy are in proportion to the number of the flock, much more numerous than those of England or of the United Provinces.—The other obstacles are the very “ great “ extent of many parishes, the universal want of “ glebes ; the prejudice of Catholics in refusing to “ accommodate Protestant clergymen with lodgings ; and the difference of language.”—What mighty bars against the two edged sword of the word ! But, my Lord, you forgot in our great cities and towns, not one of those obstacles is to be found, and yet the business of conversion is as slack as elsewhere.—It is true you mention other impediments on the part of Catholics ; which you may deem general, but which your Lordship’s bare assertion is not sufficient to substantiate : Such as “ their rooted prejudices, their ignorance, “ their superstitious veneration of Priests to whom “ they look up for absolutions, &c.” An impartial judge would not, on fair trial, find more ignorance among Catholics than among Protestants. Would he find more prejudice ? Reason I think as well as Christianity will support me in the assertion, that to see and to assent to the speculative truths

truths of religion is placed by the Almighty above the reach of human abilities, as a wholesome check to human pride. Men of the sublimest genius, and of the most consummate learning, differ in points of faith; and he must be a miserable bigot indeed, who can suppose that nothing but a want of information can make dissenters from the established church. I am far from transgressing the bounds of truth, when I say that in many countries of Europe are to be found men infinitely surpassing whatever Ireland can produce, and sincerely attached to the Catholic and Presbyterian communions. Human wisdom is not therefore a sure means of attaining divine light; and to whatever degree education may be improved, the conversion of Dissenters may be as distant as ever. Oppressive and vexatious measures are so preposterous a mode of converting unbelievers, that they have always had a contrary effect. To cultivate and to diffuse morality is the true means of attaining that end. It is thus that human passions, which obscure divine truths, are removed, and the illiterate as well as the learned are drawn to the same light. If then we cannot be one people until we are of one religion, and if the established religion be that true one, the clergy need only practice what they profess, and we shall soon arrive at that desirable end. It is impossible, with all the advantages which the legislature holds out, that the cause of truth must not triumph over that of error, if the ministers of true religion fulfil their duty. This duty, as I have already observed, is not an ordinary one. It supposes very active exertions, and the practice of virtues, which strike the senses, and arrest the judgments of men.—Are the established clergy to be known by these works?

The public have always been peculiarly indulgent to the sacred order, and have often lost sight of the man in the respect due to his station; for, in the ordinary course of human affairs, we are not wont to separate the person from the office which he bears. The distinction is however necessary. Indeed if we censure a minister of religion, on account of his office, we censure the office itself, and are guilty of impiety: but if he neglects the duties of his station, and perverts the principles which he professes; we then should arraign him through a regard for his office. To overlook his faults would be to desert the cause of religion. At all events our condition would be most hard, if a set of men, who are thought to be very liable to censure, were at liberty to defame the great body of the people of Ireland, while no notice was to be taken of their pursuits, as if their vices as well as their profession were to be held in veneration. The only difficulty which occurs to my mind on the occasion is, that some worthy characters may be hurt by any thing like a general charge; and yet if my censures appear general, or bordering on general, the public will, I trust, acquit me of illiberality, when it is remembered, that the unparalleled slanders, falsehoods, and infectives of the spurious Theophilus, are in substance adopted by the Bishop of Cloyne, by the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, by the Dean and Chapter of Christ's Church, by Trinity College; for so the many publications issuing from that famous Lyceum testify; and that these slanders are supported by numbers of the established clergy in many other parts of the kingdom: the most exceptionable pamphlets being distributed gratis with uncommon assiduity by churchmen, and by persons deriving under churchmen, or looking up to them.

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My Lord, if Christian humility could not induce, at least human prudence should have directed, the established clergy not to throw aside a veil of obscurity, which must have been to them a friendly shade. When your Lordship and the many pious scribes who have appeared on your side, hurl defiance in our teeth, and then suppose that the character of the clergy cannot be impeached; did you imagine that such an appeal would convince the public against the evidence of their senses; or that the thanks of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, voted to your Lordship for doing what you did not do, would blindfold the nation? My Lord, what is glaring and self-evident requires no proof; or the only proof which could be given on this subject, that of particularizing persons and things, cannot be attempted with propriety. It is sufficient, at least for the present time, that there are almost as many living witnesses as inhabitants in Ireland, who see so much of the lives and pursuits of the established clergy as will abundantly criminate those pastors of souls at the tribunal of reason. Your Lordship asserts that they are not worse than other men. I have already shown that if they be not better they are deficient. But are they not worse than other men? Without dwelling on the vices which shock natural reason, and which Pagan philosophy would reprobate: though much might be said on that head too; let us turn to those sublime virtues which the Gospel inculcates, and which give to Christianity its distinctive marks.— Who are so estranged from those virtues as the established clergy? Humility, forbearance, and meekness; the love of our enemies, a spirit of forgiveness, charity, purity of mind, a *sacred regard to truth*, self-denial, and that unabating desire of becoming all things to all men.— Are such virtues
known

known among the established clergy? Will the voice of the nation aver it? Will the voice of the Protestants of Ireland admit it? Will those spiritual guides themselves acknowledge it? Or will the fruits of their labours warrant it?—The best account that can be given of these disciples of Christ is, that some of them sit down in the full, silent, and peaceable enjoyment of the good things of this life. If they labour, what are their works? Or what relation do they bear to the Gospel? I could point out more Christianity in the works of Seneca or Tully. Contempt, hatred, indignities, aukward sneers, misrepresentations, and falsehoods, make up the whole of the numberless alarms, dreams, considerations, plans for extending the Protestant interest, antidotes against Popery, &c. &c. which year after year insult our understandings, and in which clerical asperity is not blunted even by an excess of dullness. An open violation of that awful interdict: **THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS**, cannot shock when it is so easily excused by a certain degree of warmth, which is ever inseparable from zeal in a good cause. In the course of those spiritual compositions the temporal sword is constantly appealed to, the most tyrannical measures are advised; and every idea of the natural rights of mankind is lost in the fulness of bigotry.—My Lord, I blush for the ministers of religion; I feel for human nature, when I reflect that their publications are peculiarly marked with calumny and falsehood.—The very name of Bishop Burnet excites the idea of fiction; and archbishop King, calling on the God of truth to witness what the world knows he knew to be false, gives the deepest dye to human depravity. Have the fellow-labourers and successors of these worthy prelates deviated from their example? My Lord, this falsifying

fyng process is a great obstacle to the progress of the Protestant religion. It disgusts all Protestants of information, of candour, and of honesty, and it is an insuperable bar to the conversion of Catholics. The most unread among them instantly take the alarm, and make a comparison by no means favourable to the progress of the Protestant religion.—“That cause,” say they, “must be bad which requires such support, and they must wish evil to us who thus belie us. We do not act so by them. When we oppose them, we do not force doctrines and tenets upon them which they disclaim. We do not pretend to know their creed better than they do themselves : and when we speak of their past conduct we appeal to their own historians.”

My Lord, the education of youth affords the fairest opportunity of diffusing morality ; and to diffuse morality is the great means of propagating true religion, and of rendering essential service to the state. The province of education, your Lordship boasts, is committed to the care of the clergy: but how is it carried on ? or what use is made of the immense funds allotted for that purpose in many parts of the kingdom ? My Lord, we behold the clergy in the education of youth, as in the functions of their ministry, either doing nothing, or worse than nothing. That bigotry, which has been the ruin and disgrace of this unhappy country, originates with the clergy. It makes a great part of that system of education which “they superintend with so much honour to themselves, and with so much advantage to the public.” From the supercilious professor of Trinity College, to the undefinable sophist of a Charter-school, the principle prevails, of misrepresenting, of calumniating and of dealing in pious frauds. “If this mode of education requires not some prudent

“dent regulation,” I know not what does. It were better have no fixed plan of education than such a one.

My Lord, the fourth section ends in a very gloomy and foreboding manner. Popery gaining ground on all sides! The Protestant religion giving way to Popery, till it be totally extinguished, and all this in consequence of a change in the revenues of the clergy.—So, my Lord, it is by revenues only the Protestant religion is supported. How does Popery, as you politely call it, maintain its ground? The Catholic clergy possess no revenues? perhaps they make use of magical spells. How then does Presbyterianism stand? For, neither do the Presbyterian clergy possess any revenues.—I might here form a train of very curious deductions, and shew, with at least as much evidence as your Lordship boasts of, that it is by revenues the Protestant interest is weakened. For if the Protestant clergy have family, education, learning, genius, and truth on their side, with great revenues; and if the clergy of other persuasions want all these advantages, and have no revenues; we may, in such a case, suppose that, if the other persuasions keep their ground, it is because their clergy have no revenues; and that, if the Protestant religion makes no progress, it is because the Protestant clergy are incumbered with revenues. This I advance to shew, how easy it would be to fill a pamphlet with deductions very different from, and full as evident as those of your Lordship.

My Lord, the business of conversion is quite romantic and visionary. But were we even to look to it as to a probable event, I have pointed out the only means by which this end can be attained. I have shewn that the Protestant clergy do not use these means; I have shewn that they
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are deficient in exertions. They neglect the morals of the people, and perhaps their own are not the best. The means which they employ to extend the Protestant interest are of an immoral and unchristian kind, and must of course be either ineffectual, or pernicious in their consequences. These, my Lord, are “the true defects in the settlement of the church of Ireland,” and these your Lordship has completely overlooked.

SECTION V.

MY Lord, your fifth section contains not less than twenty pages; but as its length is occasioned by the spinning out of futilities, I may spare myself the trouble of following your Lordship, and content myself with breaking through your cobweb-toils by some general reflections.

My Lord, a fundamental fault, observable through your whole pamphlet, is very glaring in your fifth section. “You prove too much, and “of course you prove nothing.” My Lord, were we to reject any plan or measure on account of the many minute circumstances which metaphysical possibilities might suggest against it, a fatal pyrrhonism would soon seize us, and the world would sink into perfect inaction.

In the fifth section, you profess to treat of commutation; and you set out by placing beyond the reach of doubt the strange principles advanced in the former sections, and yet these principles can never rise, in an unprejudiced mind, to the lowest degree of doubt.—You then slightly glance at a few inconveniences attending tithes in general;

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but you object to the term tax as applied to tithes. A long note is employed to shew that tithes are not a tax. You define a tax to be a portion of the subject's property, levied by law for the public use; now, resumes your Lordship, tithes of the produce of the earth, though raised by the farmer's industry, is not his property, for it was not his landlord's. Softly, my Lord, the rent of the land is a small consideration in the produce of it. What of the hire of labourers? The price and feeding of cattle employed for cultivation? Manure? The labour of the husbandman, and the sweat of his brow? If these things be not his property, I know not what is. "But the portion of
 " tithes paid to the minister of a parish is not le-
 " vied for a public use; for he is retained to per-
 " form religious services for the inhabitants of
 " that particular parish only, and should be paid
 " by those whom he serves." The bare mention of this argument is sufficient to shew to what quirks and quiddities your Lordship is reduced. Indeed your last proposition, "that the parish
 " minister should be paid by those whom he
 " serves," must have escaped you unawares; for it leads to a disquisition which would shew, that tithes carry along with them in this kingdom an indelible idea of injustice and oppression.—Reason led your Lordship to assert, that "the parish
 " minister should be paid by those whom he
 " serves," You thus intimate, that the Protestant inhabitants of other parishes had no right to pay him, as payment supposed some value received. The same reason says more forcibly, that the Presbyterians and Catholics of any parish have no right to pay a Protestant minister, as they receive nought from him, save in many instances calumny and contempt. My Lord, that active sense of right and wrong, so deeply implanted in our nature

nature, that original and natural justice, which no statute can efface, no constitution do away, should have some weight in the breast of a Bishop. Through all the mazy rounds which you traverse in favour of tithes, we hear nothing of this great principle.—Indeed you speak of Dissenters rejecting the service of a Clergyman, as if they were obliged to pay for what they reject; and to get rid entirely of the troublesome question, you refer us to your second section. All we here find is, that if the State paid the Clergy of any other sect, that sect would be established. This, my Lord, requires proof, and the words Established Religion and Establishment should, but have not been defined with accuracy and precision. The loose manner in which your Lordship has wielded these big words, would make them applicable to the most extensive assertion of tyranny.—Your allusion to the Emperor's conduct is unfair. It is unfair in drawing comparisons to confine the view to certain parts. Comparisons should be whole and entire; and if they were so in this instance, how different would the great Joseph's Lutheran subjects appear from the harrassed and proscribed Catholics and Presbyterians of Ireland! But there is a difference in this respect, between Ireland and every other country upon earth, as the Reverend and liberal Mr. Barber very well observes. In all other countries the State religion is the religion of the great body of the people, and therefore, allows the plea of partial evil for universal good. In Ireland the State religion is the religion of the few; and, according to your Lordship's principles, most unequivocally holds out universal evil for partial good; a maxim which mocks every idea of justice, of good government, and of sound policy.—No reason will here discountenance this inference at least, that if Presbyterians and Catholics must be

taxed for the support of a Clergy who do not belong to them, the mode of taxation should be made as agreeable and as easy as possible. Your Lordship keeps clear of such idle considerations. Through the whole tenor of your pamphlet, the principle, "Whatever is right," constantly occurs wherever the conduct or revenues of the established Clergy are concerned, and cuts short all difficulties.

In the former sections, a reduction in the revenues of the Clergy is represented big with mischief as essentially involving the ruin of religion, the downfall of the constitution : and all evils, foreign as well as domestic, are held forth as so many spontaneous consequences of such an unhallowed attempt. In the present section, strange to tell ! Commutation is surrounded with as great evils, and with consequences equally tremendous. We are presented with " a chaos of confusion ! the whole kingdom in a state of abeyance ! An awful period of suspense ! A pause of all transactions, in which land is concerned ! All parties injured ! Confounded ! Complaining ! And a century requisite to bring any new regulation to such a degree of legal clearness and notoritey, as that of the present tithe laws, &c. &c. &c." Bless me, must here exclaim the man of sober and common sense ; how wonderful are the ways of the Clergy ! When human wisdom can devise for them no other support than that of tithes ; without subverting all order, unhinging all property, and throwing the world into utter confusion. What more can be wanting to demonstrate the establishment of tithes *jure divino* ?—If all states, have in all ages, amply provided for the different orders of officers whom they employed. If no class of the community have had so little cause of complaint, through all the changes which have happened in
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the value of money, in the degree of commerce, in the manners of people. All this proves nothing. They were profane mortals, and consequently depended on, and were subject to, the temporal power. But the Clergy derive their tithes, as well as their mission, from a higher source. No wonder then, that the impious interference of human power should be attended with the most dire effects !

Seriously, my Lord, were we to lay any stress on your *insuperable difficulties*, we can no longer conceive, not only how the *few districts inhabited by the Presbyterian sect* (and your Lordship might have added the Catholic Kingdoms of Poland and Bohemia) can support their Clergy without tithes ; but even how a single instance of such a nature could occur in the history of mankind. And yet the established clergy are, I believe, on a more regular footing in those countries where tithes are abolished than elsewhere. There fewer complaints are heard from the people. The Clergy are not so liable to worldly embarrassments, and the boundaries of their rights are more exactly ascertained. A commutation is then practicable, as it has been practised with success ; and the many peccadilloes affixed by your Lordship to the only plans which you thought proper to mention, would equally militate against the most rational systems ever devised, if these systems were to be managed by your Lordship, to be stripped of all collateral support, and their weak sides only to be exposed to view.

The general use of tithes through the Christian world during so many centuries, is set forth by your Lordship with great parade. The several states are specified, they are called “ wise states, “ polished nations, the most enlightened in the “ world. These states still continue tithes ; even “ the

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 “ that establishment. Either, therefore, we must
 “ conceive that all those states, the most enlight-
 “ ened in the world, have remained for ages in
 “ one palpable pernicious blunder, through mere
 “ chance and inattention ; or the wisest legisla-
 “ tures have hitherto deemed it an insuperable
 “ difficulty to devise a substitute liable to so little
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 cial to agriculture ? And so my Lord, legislators
 and statesmen always consult the real interest of
 the state, and the happiness of the people.—
 Would to God we could say so, and Ireland
 would be, at this day, a stranger to many other
 grievances beside tithes. But suppose virtue and
 wisdom equally conjoined in statesmen ; suppose
 them ready to adopt the measure of abolishing
 tithes, what a complicated opposition might they
 not expect from powerful and interested bodies,
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 tries to which your Lordship has pointed. My
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 ble to any statesman, as it would be carried on
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part of the community.—Whatever causes may be assigned for the existence and continuance of great and general abuses, it is certain that such evils may be observed in the wisest states, and in the most enlightened ages.—Without looking far back, or impeding our progress with many examples, I shall only glance at the conduct of the present Emperor of Germany. He has spent a great part of his reign in reforming abuses, which had antiquity and universality to plead, and which must appear to your Lordship as grievous and burdensome.—Yet these abuses have long continued in enlightened times; many of them still subsist in the most polished nations, and under the wisest states; while no man can assert, that a removal of them would be attended with fatal consequences, or that a proper commutation could not be made where a reservation might be necessary.—What, my Lord, should we say of Popery itself, that compound of ignorance, of superstition, and of cruelty; that cloud which darkeneth true religion and true science? (Such is the picture which the late publications exhibit of the Catholic religion.) This Popery, my Lord, which the simple enriching and multiplying of the Protestant Clergy would banish out of Ireland, as the solar rays would expel a noxious vapour, is still continued in, nay is the religion of those states which your Lordship stiles the wisest and most enlightened upon earth. These wise states must then, “have remained for ages in one palpable pernicious blunder, through mere chance and inattention.”

My Lord, we must still think that tithes are a very awkward, and a very acceptionable mode of supporting the clergy in any country; but most especially in Ireland, where the great body of the people have their own besides the established

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 by the most subtle, intriguing, and dangerous
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part of the community.—Whatever causes may be assigned for the existence and continuance of great and general abuses, it is certain that such evils may be observed in the wisest states, and in the most enlightened ages.—Without looking far back, or impeding our progress with many examples, I shall only glance at the conduct of the present Emperor of Germany. He has spent a great part of his reign in reforming abuses, which had antiquity and universality to plead, and which must appear to your Lordship as grievous and burdensome.—Yet these abuses have long continued in enlightened times; many of them still subsist in the most polished nations, and under the wisest states; while no man can assert, that a removal of them would be attended with fatal consequences, or that a proper commutation could not be made where a reservation might be necessary.—What, my Lord, should we say of Popery itself, that compound of ignorance, of superstition, and of cruelty; that cloud which darkeneth true religion and true science? (Such is the picture which the late publications exhibit of the Catholic religion.) This Popery, my Lord, which the simple enriching and multiplying of the Protestant Clergy would banish out of Ireland, as the solar rays would expel a noxious vapour, is still continued in, nay is the religion of those states which your Lordship stiles the wisest and most enlightened upon earth. These wise states must then, “have remained for ages in one palpable pernicious blunder, through mere chance and inattention.”

My Lord, we must still think that tithes are a very awkward, and a very acceptionable mode of supporting the clergy in any country; but most especially in Ireland, where the great body of the people have their own besides the establish-

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ed Clergy to maintain ; where the low state of agriculture, the want of commerce, the poverty of the peasantry, with absentees, middle-men, and rack-rents, hanging upon their shoulders, make other burdens destructive and intolerable. Besides, Ireland is, I believe, the only country in which tithes are not fixed to a determinate standard ; and in which such ample scope is given to the unrelenting rapacity of Proctors, Tithe-Farmers, and Canters.—These obvious truths will ever remain unshaken in an unprejudiced mind, notwithstanding the dreadful horrors which you attribute to commutation, and the many airy perfections in which you dress up tithes, the barbarous offspring of dark ages.—In viewing these perfections, I could scarce withhold a smile, when, among other things very handsomely adjusted, I saw explained how tithes are the most effective method of insuring residence. My Lord, if we were to judge from facts, we should conclude the reverse. It is impossible that non-residence could be more common than it is at present, under any other possible mode of supporting the Clergy. If residence be not enforced by spiritual means, a simple increase of income will never effect it. Our absentee landlords have the same motive in a much higher degree ; but other causes more forcible and more powerful prevail ; and it may be, with all due deference, presumed that the Clergy are not strangers to the bewitching influence of similar causes.

SECTION VI.

MY LORD, your sixth section treats of *the bad effects of innovation on either plan* ; and presents us with still more alarming and ruinous prospects ; with such national confusion and ruin, as *nothing but the necessity of alarming the public could induce you to delineate*. Patience, ye Logicians ! if numberless loose conclusions perplex your minds.

My Lord, among many dreadful consequences which any kind of reduction or commutation would occasion, you say, “ it would reduce the
 “ Protestant Clergy in point of education, rank,
 “ and influence ; by shutting up many churches,
 “ it must rapidly diminish the power of Church-
 “ men ; and, at the same time, by raising in the
 “ like proportion the number and influence of the
 “ Romish Priests, &c. with the animation of hope
 “ and foreign assistance overturn the Protestant
 “ ascendancy.”—The expressions, “ by raising in
 “ the like proportion the number and influence of
 “ the Romish Priests,” are not clear to me. If they mean, that the remedying of grievances would increase population, and relieve the distressed, and that such shocking evils might add to the number and support of the Romish clergy, we may clearly perceive a link of that chain of tyranny which pervades your entire pamphlet, and which you endeavour to conceal from public view.—The hope of foreign assistance is advanced by your Lordship with your usual candour and liberality. What says the man of reason ? he must strangely wonder, how artful conspirators

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against church and state could so preposterously chuse their time, and so unaccountably reject the occasion which openly courted their favourite scheme! it must be within your Lordship's recollection, for it is within the period of a very few years when the united fleets of the House of Bourbon appeared on our coasts, and gave law to both the channels. The most ignorant of those very ignorant Papists, whom your Lordship would enlighten by taxation and oppression, were perfectly aware, that there was nothing in the British Empire capable of withstanding that power. They had only to beckon from the beach, foreign assistance was at hand; they had only to stand neuter, and the business was done. They forgot their principle of erecting their religious establishment, and of reviving their ancient claims.—They stood forth, and they alone * preserved Ireland for their Sovereign. The Bishop of Cloyne had not as yet proved them to be perjurers, not entitled to national confidence. Nor had Mr. Brown of the College read to them his Lecture upon Modesty. But acts of magnanimity, generosity, and disinterestedness, are thrown away upon bigots!

Still new sources of tremendous evils appear.—Any innovation whatsoever “would lessen the connexion between this kingdom and England; “it would prevent Englishmen from vesting anew, “or continuing an interest in Irish lands.”—Where is the proof, my Lord? Indeed we are not to look for proofs in this section. The leading assertions which it contains, are quite opposite to the dic-

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* It is by no means intended to take from the merits of every other description of Irishmen. The above passage implies no more, than that the Catholics, from their superior numbers, had in their power to turn the scale whatever side they inclined.

tates of reason ; to the rights of mankind ; and to the maxims of good government :—And from these assertions arises a tissue of declamation, well suited to a mind in which the natural course of causes and effects is perverted by bigotry.—What if such a change, namely, in the manner of supporting the Clergy, should take place in England ? Reason tells me, though it did not take place in England, that it should be effected in Ireland.—The people of England are the most opulent in the world ; a pampered people ; the people of Ireland are the most wretched ; of course, what proves an intolerable burden to the latter, may not be felt by the former. Your Lordship's reason turns another side ; the unexampled misery of Irishmen touches you not ; you see no rank of people oppressed, aggrieved, or impoverished, in this ill-fated land but the established Clergy.—“ The Church of England, you say, is completely settled, the Church of Ireland is scarce half advanced towards a settlement.” Now if the clerical fund of one province in Ireland surpasseth that of the entire kingdom of Scotland, where will this settlement end ? But I should recollect, that you have already proved it impossible that tithes can be a burden : let then every thing be tithed according to the original wide definition of the term, and perhaps your Lordship may happily approach to a complete settlement of the Church of Ireland.—“ The great body of the people of England are of the established Church ; the great body of the people of Ireland dissent from it.” Therefore, would I say, the number of the established Clergy should be less in Ireland, and the clerical fund less in proportion. No, says the Bishop of Cloyne, but the number of Clergymen and the clerical fund should be encreased in proportion:—“ for otherwise the national Church

“ would be checked in its progress.”—My Lord, how this conclusion agrees with that spirit of Christian toleration which you profess, is not easily perceived. It is true, this mode of propagating true religion does not immediately affect life or limb, it goes not to the cutting off of ears, or the slitting of noses ; but it very materially affects the property of the Catholics and Presbyterians of this kingdom. If the progress of the true religion can only advance in an exact proportion to the increase of the clerical fund, and if this increase to be for the most part levied on the Catholics and Presbyterians, who will prescribe limits to your Lordship’s zeal ? May it not suggest, that the parting with every thing here below, is a sure means of being converted to the light of Heaven ? —“ The last dreadful consequence of innovation,” says your Lordship, “ would be its fatal operation on the great seminary of learning, from which this kingdom derives so much credit and advantage.”

We are now to behold learning, as we have already seen religion, entirely upheld by vast funds set apart for its Professors. Those funds we are not to confound with the munificent rewards by which the Mecenases of different ages have excited the emulation, and crowned the labours of literary adventurers. The munificent rewards seldom fail of splendid success ; while the funds appear quite different in their effects, as well as in their nature. They are not the rewards of merit, they are fixed permanent appointments, generally attained by arts, to which true genius can never stoop. The passing through certain academical forms may be a necessary condition ; but how easily merit can be dispensed with in such proceedings is too well understood. Again, vast appointments, even when they fall by chance to
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men of merit and genius, are known to deaden that active energy of mind in the professors of learning, as well as in the ministers of religion, upon which the value of either entirely depends. If examples be required we need not go from home, nor carry our view beyond "that great secondary of learning, from which this kingdom derives so much credit and advantage."

Panegyrics on Trinity College are very frequent in this kingdom, but are never heard in any other country upon earth. They are uttered by those who, in praising that College, praise themselves. Judgment, therefore, should pause and wait for proofs before it decides.—For my part, I candidly avow, that I have never been able to discover proper grounds for panegyric in any thing which virtue or science may have derived from Trinity College.—We have enjoyed an uninterrupted peace of near a century. Trinity College is the most amply endowed of any other College in Europe. The Muses wanted no inducement to visit our clime; and yet Ireland has gained the opprobrious name of Bæotia. Our good neighbours tell the world that we naturally want intellects as well as courage, but the *persecuted* and exiled Irish have constantly supported, under vast difficulties, a literary as well as military fame on the most conspicuous stages in Europe. If Trinity College be not answerable for the want of the former at home, I know not what is: and until Mr. Brown offers us something more substantial, than the silly rhapsody with which he amused us last session, we must think and acknowledge, that the British Universities do not transgress the bounds of truth or justice, when they sarcastically point to their dull and dumb sister.—Indeed, if proscribing all those who do not subscribe to the thirty-nine articles, from the means
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of improving their rational faculties ; if misrepresenting the tenets, and vilifying the character of non-conformists, are the means of supporting the Protestant religion ; this *learned* seminary has not swerved from the purpose for which your Lordship says it was founded. But at the same time it may be presumed, that the habitual practice of those *pious* works, the excessive salaries of the College, the enormous ecclesiastical benefices, to which senior members retire, contract and blunt, and render ineffectual what the world commonly calls Genius.—This conclusion is not disproved by the almost only productions which issue from this religious Lyceum ; in them we constantly observe gross misrepresentation and contemptible arrogance, accompanied with insipidity, dullness, and a strange weakness of reasoning. Many publications of this kind, in the form of pamphlets, (for larger forms might take too much from pleasure and ease) have preceded and followed your Lordship's wonderful performance. They are in general too scurrilous in style, and too flimsy in substance for any serious mention. The least exceptionable one, lately published in aid of your Lordship's doctrines, by the Rev. Mr. Burrowes, Fellow of Trinity College, I shall take some notice of.

Mr. Burrowes attempts to refute Mr. Barber, and decrees himself a triumph while no sign of victory appears. He accuses Mr. Barber of “ publishing a pamphlet dangerous to the peace of “ the nation, tending to exasperate the minds of “ men, and to breed popular discontent :” and he applauds and joins issue with those publications which revile and vilify the great body of the people. I would ask Mr. Burrowes in what part of the natural history of man has he discovered, that contemptuous and reproachful language tends
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to produce contentment, cordiality, and affection?—Mr. Barber says nothing of the outrages in the South; and well might he have spared himself the trouble after the many exaggerated and direful accounts held forth to the public: Mr. Burrowes concludes that he abets those outrages. The Bishop of Cloyne, Mr. Burrowes, and their learned associates, pass over unnoticed the unexampled wretchedness of the Irish peasantry, the causes of this wretchedness, and the sufferings of the Catholic clergy in the late outrages. *A pari*, may we not conclude that the Bishop of Cloyne, Mr. Burrowes, and their learned associates are abettors of those evils?—The Bishop of Cloyne had laid down the strange position, that the present church establishments, with all their inequalities and all their abuses, are essential to the very existence of our civil constitution, and of the established religion: Mr. Barber denies the position, and points out the many evils which have flowed from such establishments; Mr. Burrowes hence concludes, that he proves beyond a doubt the truth of the Bishop's conclusions, namely, "that the Presbyterians are levellers, who "would pull down the constitution in church and "state *per fas atque nefas*." A very wide conclusion, that leads very far! And Doctor BUTLER, by distinguishing between the spirit and letter of an oath, demonstratively proves that the Catholic religion countenances perjury! Good again, Mr. Burrowes. And so Mr. Burrowes human language is so perfectly accurate as to need no explanation! and human minds are so perfectly illumined as to leave no obscurity, either in the formation of language, or in the formation of oaths. Must not the very terms of oaths, which all nations seem so fond of preserving inviolate, become nugatory by common consent, when through
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lapse of time the object to which they first applied have either vanished, or given way to new objects! And hence will not a distinction between the letter and spirit of an oath, as well as the letter and spirit of a law, often become necessary? If Mr. Burrowes's remark had any weight, how many of those sworn into places and offices in this kingdom would be free from perjury! But Mr. Burrowes's *ingenious* reasoning was only intended for Popery: to apply it to what Mr. Burrowes supposes endowed with perfection is not the part of a loyal subject.—Mr. Burrowes in his fifth page asserts, that before Mr. Barber's remarks appeared, a great majority of the inhabitants of this kingdom were *well affected*: and in his seventh page he sets down, as incontrovertible, the Bishop of Cloyne's conclusion: that the members of the established church alone can be *cordial* friends to the constitution of this realm.—Such contradictory assertions should have been placed at a greater distance.—When Mr. Burrowes meant to defend the temporalities of Churchmen, he should have specified the extent of the word establishment. Without this precaution, all he has argued on that head goes for nothing; for as a vast distance lies between a decent competency, and such possessions as the Clergy now enjoy, the former may be useful, while the latter may prove hurtful.—If Mr. Burrowes had kept in view his patron's position, that the present establishments were *essential* to the existence of true religion, he would not find such absurdity in the use which Mr. Barber makes of the text from St. Paul, NOTHING WAS KEPT BACK THAT WAS PROFITABLE. Mr. Barber very properly points out the bad effects of religious establishments. Mr. Burrowes glides over the difficulty, by supposing the evil alleged to be the abuses, not the effects of religious

religious establishments. But until Mr. Burrowes presents us with something more than his assertion, we must consider intolerance, cruelty, and persecution as the natural offspring of establishments; never have churchmen been observed to disgrace religion by those vices, but when indulged with temporal power, and with temporal possessions.—Mr. Burrowes seems hurt at Mr. O'Leary's sympathy and compassion for his wretched countrymen: and accuses him of equivocation in his controversy with Wesley. But Mr Burrowes misrepresents. It is false that Mr. O'Leary, or any other Catholic divine, ever supported the doctrine: "that promises to heretics are void of obligation in the peculiar case of safe conducts." It is false that the Council of Constance ever decreed it. And further, it is false that Protestants do not enjoy as much, nay more toleration under Catholic governments, than Catholics do under Protestant governments. The comparison of Italy and England seems decisive with Mr. Burrowes: but does Mr. Burrowes see no difference between refusing to admit a religion into a country where it never had a footing; and forcing a religion upon people's consciences by pains and penalties!—Will Mr. Burrowes tell us why he did not mention Germany instead of Italy, as Germany lay nearer to him?—The succeeding remarks of Mr. Burrowes on the union of church and state; The dangers of Popery, &c. until he arrives at the moon*, in the twenty-ninth page, contains so little logic, and so much bigotry as

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* "A map of Ireland, (says Mr. Burrowes) as divided among the old proprietors (like that of the moon, as divided among astronomers, though not so innocent in its effects or perhaps in its designation) was some years ago published and purchased with great avidity."

would swell my criticisms into a volume, were I to enter into a minute discussion of his principles and reasoning.—Mr. Barber, whose great crime was a wish to pull down all establishments, is introduced, page 30, arguing for the establishment of Popery; and a curious train of reasoning is set on foot, which would effectually debar men from ever aiming at the general good; because particular inconveniences must arise.—If we suppose, with Mr. Burrowes, the legislature to be a set of missionaries, I allow it to be their bounden duty to propagate the religion of their conscience: but I tell Mr. Burrowes it should be with the Bible, and not the sword in their hand: It should be by persuasion, not by penalties and taxation.—“If the Empress of Russia should conquer Turkey,” demands Mr. Burrowes with an air of triumph, “is it her duty to establish the religion of Mahomet?” No, Mr. Burrowes, but it is her duty not to force the Christian religion upon Mahometans: it is her duty not to punish Mahometans with penalties for not embracing the Christian religion: it is her duty not to oblige Mahometans to pay the ministers of the Christian religion.—Mr. Burrowes’s pretty phrase of “there being in Popery “a certain affinity to arbitrary power repulsive “to civil liberty,” proves only his ignorance or want of candour. The same inference evidently follows from his very illiberal allusion to the horrid transactions of forty-one. Does Mr. Burrowes imagine that the base colours of falsehood, in which profligate historians have involved that unfortunate period, can impose on impartial minds?

I once saw a map of the Holy Land divided, as originally among the people of God; and thought, that if the present Mahometan rulers of that country were not very stupid, they would take serious notice of it, though it was drawn by a German Christian for the amusement of the curious.

minds? Has he never heard of historical monuments which demonstrate the infamy of the historians, as well as of the statesmen of that age? Or is falsehood so pleasing as to be retained, and cherished at all events? The united wisdom of Trinity College has never attempted to refute the narratives to which I refer. Indeed this seminary of learning would lately persuade the legislature to order the collection of these historical monuments to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. This is a kind of argument very destructive to paper, but not to the truth contained in paper, which is ever known to arise more rectified from hostile flames.—Surely the elements of the moral world must have received a shock, and undergone a change, when we observe Colonel Vallancey's philosophic spirit sweetly ascending from the artillery, while fire and thunder and smoke issue forth from the Church and the College.—Mr. Burrowes adopts the principle of preventing the further growth of Popery by the temporal power. How far such a principle may extend, and how consistent with civil liberty, past experience abundantly testifies. He calls to his assistance the sense of a British mob, whose gross prejudices would disgrace any age or country.—Mr. Burrowes professes himself the friend of civil liberty, and yet in accounting for certain laws and establishments, he gives us no better reason than the will or opinion of, I know not what legislator, to whose "*cartel est notre plaisir*," the people must submit in silence, or be treated as rebels by Mr. Burrowes.—The Bishop of Cloyne, and his worthy assistants, had pointed to enormities committed by Catholics and by Presbyterians as proofs of their religious tenets: Mr. Barber very properly retorts, and oppose to them the actions of Protestants equally exceptionable:

Mr. Burrowes exclaims against his illiberality in "bringing to view persecutions long since repented of and forgotten," and condemns such a defence as tending to *exasperate the minds of men*. But as these humane reflections, however partial, are not capable, even in the mind of Mr. Burrowes, of doing away the objection, he adopts another method which effectually cuts short all reasoning: It is to ascribe to the eldest sister all the faults, and the faults alone of the younger sister; for her perfections it seems must be all her own. "The persecutions exercised by Protestants," (says Mr. Burrowes) will be found either the remains of that spirit of intolerance and bigotry, from which the church of England for some time after the reformation, was unable to emancipate herself; or they were occasional acts of princes under the influence of Popish counsels, and perhaps secretly attached to the Popish communion!"

PROBATUM EST!—Mr. Burrowes concludes by a forced panegyric on Dissenters, *whose habits*, he says, *are useful to the state*. The habits he means are those of prejudice and hatred against Catholics: for "the Presbyterians," he says, *look upon Popery as inimical to civil and religious liberty*: and I tell Mr. Burrowes, that if he has heard this asserted by any Presbyterians, it must be by the most ignorant of that enlightened body; for I defy Mr. Burrowes, or any other man in the nation, to disprove my former assertion, namely, that the Catholic religion contains within her pale more republics, nay more democracies, than any other religion upon earth.

Mr. Burrowes would do well to revise and correct this late publication, if he means not to bring still greater contempt on the philosophy of Trinity College; that College, which, in spite of the

the few exceptions adduced by Mr. Burrowes, growing under the shade of connivance, must be allowed on all hands to have shut her gates against the great body of the people, and to have tainted the fair garden of science with the sourness of bigotry.

A worthy representative of this famous University gave to the world, during the last session of parliament, a striking specimen of that philosophy which presides over Trinity College. Mr. Brown stood up the formidable advocate of the Bishop of Cloyne's pamphlet, but to the honour of our House of Commons he stood alone. His imagination disdaining the humble course of nature, soared into regions where it could rule without controul. It there depressed some objects in proportion as it exalted others, and in the exaltation Mr. Brown was not forgotten.—He appeared like an Eastern despot, and seemed to sit enthroned with the power of millions in his hand, severely arraiguing the Catholic body as his mutes for being inattentive to his frowns. His suspicions were demonstrations with regard to slaves, who should leave no room for suspicions; and their attempting to speak against what they deem calumny and falsehood was unpardonable insolence, and base ingratitude.—Mr. Brown would impose silence, and recommend grievances as favours, by taking the number of those who wore a certain badge; for the rest it seems had no right to live.—If Mr. Brown has as yet quitted his enchanted chair of state, I would whisper in his ear the insolent reflections which were returned by Papists to his lofty speech. “How does the bigot swell, (said they) with vain thoughts and empty sounds! Has he never carried his views beyond the walls of Trinity College? or can he think of escaping elsewhere the sneer of ridicule?”

“ cule? Are we to become contemptible even to
 “ ourselves for adhering to principles which we
 “ prefer to his? Or does he imagine that the sud-
 “ den flutter of a literary coxcomb can prove a
 “ bugbear to the great Catholic body? Are we
 “ to sit still, and acquiesce under calumnies and
 “ reproaches? Are we not to complain of grie-
 “ vances, because Mr. Brown threatens to num-
 “ ber us, and to separate the good from the bad
 “ by the test oath? Before a test oath had exis-
 “ tance were we not conspicuous for a strict
 “ adherence to principle and an unshaken loyal-
 “ ty? We gave greater proofs of both than Mr.
 “ Brown or Trinity College ever did; and we
 “ could not be flattered by the comparison. But
 “ who is Mr. Brown? Or what gratitude do we
 “ owe to Mr. Brown and to Trinity College?—
 “ When we express our contempt of calumnia-
 “ tors and bigots, is it a conclusion worthy of a
 “ College to infer, that we are wanting in re-
 “ gard to our worthy Protestant countrymen? Or
 “ what affinity is there between a contemptible
 “ set of bigots and such characters as A GRAT-
 “ TAN, A FORBES, A JONES, A DOYLE, A
 “ CURRAN, &c. &c.?”

In closing this section I would calmly remind
 Mr. Brown and his learned constituents, of a few
 simple maxims which true philosophy approves
 and inculcates, namely, that one man is like ano-
 ther; that we are all endowed with certain feel-
 ings; that when these feelings are hurt they move
 us to retribution; and that he who conceiveth
 groundless contempt, storeth up for himself a fund
 of real contempt.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

THE seventh section, on *the means of remedying the defects in the settlement of the Church of Ireland*, promises much,—produces little,—and will, I believe, disappoint every rational well-wisher of the established Church. When it is considered, how universally non-residence prevails, and that those who, by means of great incomes, are best able to reside, appear most remarkable for non-residence. When we observe that such persons are the most inactive in the duties of their profession; that they scarce ever stoop to survey the lower orders of their flock; much less do they follow the guidance of Christian zeal; never do we see them attempt to supply, by their instructions, the want of education in those who are debarred from that blessing by their rank in life. When we again reflect, that numbers of the illiterate and poor Protestants are daily gained over, not only by Catholics and Presbyterians, but by Methodists, Quakers, and every other dissenting sect; and when such evils (for such they must appear to a zealous Bishop) are proposed to be checked,—not by enforcing ecclesiastical discipline,—not by preaching the word,—not by exhibiting bright examples of Christian virtues;—but by building churches, purchasing glebes, and abolishing the Irish language; the remedies must appear inadequate and foreign to the disease; their direct tendency will only be, to make the Protestant religion, what Doctor O'Leary very humourously terms, *the religion of the soil*, but not the religion of

of the people; and to encrease the number of pastors, in proportion as their flocks and their duties diminish.

My Lord, you had before adverted to the zeal of Catholics in making proselytes. When this zeal proceeds according to the rules of reason and of religion, it must gain the applause of every impartial man; and the means by which it operates are so beneficial to society at large, that all lovers of mankind will ever feel and regret its absence among any description of Christians.—Whether the pampered dignitaries of the established Church are actuated by such a zeal; whether they stoop to the labour which it points out; or whether, from their aversion to so irksome a task, they are constantly calling on the civil power to interfere with temporal arms, where spiritual arms only should be used? Whether this also be the fruitful source of the many *dreams, alarms, considerations, antidotes, &c. &c.* which are piously reared from a misrepresentation of known truths; are questions within the reach of every class of men in society, towards the solution of which no profound researches are requisite. We have only to open our eyes, look round, and see!

Indeed, if the defects mentioned by your Lordship, in a former section, were the bars to the propagation of religion, and to the conversion of unbelievers, the remedies which you propose would be adequate and consistent. But I have already shown the futility of such a supposition; and in whatever light, whether political or religious, the business of conversion is viewed, it must always seem preposterous to appoint a pastor, build a Church, and purchase a glebe, before a flock is provided. It is a new mode of converting sinners, unheard-of in the world, and unexampled in the annals of Christianity. For I cannot

not think your Lordship would, in order to avoid a contradiction, imitate the example of the pious Elizabeth, and drive the people to the new worship by fines and forfeitures. If nothing else could prevent the adoption of such measures, surely the long experience of their inefficacy should for ever discredit any further trial of them.

We may therefore consign your seventh section to the same fate which your fourth section, (*on the defects in the settlement of the Church of Ireland,*) has already undergone.

In that section I spoke of the established Clergy, and my language, I fear, will appear insupportable to Doctor Stock, who gives the epithet of *Crusty* to the words *calomnier et noircir*, quoted from MONTESQUIEU by Doctor Campbell.—I should be sorry to offend Doctor Stock. Of all the Bishop of Cloyne's auxiliaries, he alone exhibits in his sentiments, and in his language, a Christian benevolence worthy of his profession. His conduct in private life, as I am informed, discovers the same amiable disposition; and if the present contest had begun with him, it would, I believe, have been carried on without asperity on either side. But DOCTOR STOCK falling into the dispute at such a period, and in such a capacity as he did, thought it incumbent on him to look to his right-hand man, and to commit himself with his brethren. This I take to be the true source of those defects in his pamphlet which I shall point out.

The rule which Doctor Stock prescribes to his antagonist, seems to have been totally disregarded by himself. He tells Doctor Campbell, “ that we
“ are to examine with attention facts which we
“ think material to our purpose, and to enquire
“ whether their evidence may not be weakened or
“ overthrown by contrary testimony.”—Has Doc-

tor Stock regulated his conduct by this rule? He enters the list in defence of the Bishop of Cloyne; he denies that “the Right Reverend writer had “the smallest intention to bring an accusation of “this high nature,” namely, “of being disaffected to our admired constitution, and of secretly “wishing to subvert it against so great a proportion of his fellow subjects.” As proofs of his assertion, he quotes the *very words* of the Right Reverend Author. But did he examine “whether their evidence might not be overthrown by “contrary testimony?”—The same Right Reverend Author sets forth, as leading principles of his pamphlet, “that Catholics are by their tenets “impelled to erect their ecclesiastical establishment on the ruin of others; that Presbyterians “are by their tenets levellers, and aim at pulling “down all establishments: that the outrages in “the south were the effects of a deep laid scheme, “a general conspiracy of Papists to subvert the “established church; for, says the Bishop, that “this, namely, to subvert the established church, “is the immediate tendency, if not the premeditated design, not only of the riotous proceedings in Munster, but of the principles disseminated by some of the public prints, shall be “clearly proved in the following pages.”—Moreover, will Doctor Stock explain to us, what do the words “hope of foreign assistance import?” or what is meant by saying, that “Catholics, as “men, are often better than their tenets?—Whoever peruses the Bishop of Cloyne’s pamphlet, and considers the *pious* use to which he turns the letter of a Pope’s Nuncio, and the consecration oath of Catholic Bishops, must allow, that the principles which I here adduce are the corner stones of the structure raised by the dignified architect; and that the extracts upon which Doctor Stock dwells, are

are only detached pieces not adjusted to, nor incorporated with the main work, but evidently calculated for avasions and subterfuges.—Doctor Stock then appears to me to have sounded a retreat for the Bishop, and to have *prudently* avoided any disquisition upon tenets, tithes *jus divinum*, the impossibility of commutation, reduction, the fatal effects of either, &c. &c. he saw no strength in the puny sophisms urged on these heads. But he attempts to cover the Bishop's retreat, and in the attempt does not escape unhurt. He applauds the Bishop's zeal in standing forth the champion of the Church. The Church, he apprehends has been in extreme peril; for he adopts the Bishop's representation of things in the most unreserved manner. Doctor Stock forgets again his own rule; he “examines not with attention” facts which he thinks material to his purpose; “nor does he enquire whether their evidence” “may not be weakened or overthrown by contrary testimony.” *Facts*, says again Doctor Stock, “partially quoted or suppressed must be brought into full day.”—*It is a fact then, that the Catholic Clergy suffered more in the late outrages than the Protestant Clergy. It is a fact, that there were Protestants among the insurgents. It is a fact, that the insurgents were headed by Protestants. It is a fact, that wherever the insurgents were encouraged, or connived at, by men of any note or consideration, such men were Protestants—These facts essentially alter the state of the case; † and these facts were totally suppressed

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* See Doctor O'Leary's Defence.

† In justice to Doctor Stock, it is fit to acquaint the public, that he has in a private letter to the author, disclaimed any knowledge of these facts when he published his pamphlet. Doctor Stock has convinced the author of his liberality as a gentleman, and of his meekness as a minister of the Gospel.

by the Bishop of Cloyne, and after him by Doctor Stock.—Doctor Stock indeed offers a tribute of praise to my Lord Kenmare, but he seems to doubt “whether such a character be not an uncommon one in this nation;” and did he not hear, that the sufferings of the Catholic Clergy were occasioned by their zeal and exertions? The Bishop of Cloyne and Doctor Stock could not have been ignorant of these circumstances. They have suppressed them!—Are these things less shocking to a gentle reader than the *crusty* expressions, *calomnier et noircir*? And if these things be founded on truth, do they not leave room for the proper application of the expressions? The words are not obsolete, the best writers use them, and if there be a fitness between them and the objects which they are meant to denote, I do not see what exception can be taken against them. For my part, I always wish to adapt my expressions to the ideas which I conceive.—I am sorry Doctor Stock has exposed himself in this instance, to a charge of an ugly complexion, by an intemperate zeal for some of his brethren. In the instance alluded to above, his apology would transform, or rather, to use his own witty, if not *crusty* expression, *transubstantiate* the Bishop of Cloyne’s publication.—The rest of Doctor Stock’s pamphlet, containing historical disquisitions, and deductions from them, is in general well directed, and opposes Doctor Campbell with effect.

That gentleman, whose abilities I am ready to acknowledge, has either through precipitancy or prejudice, left himself open to some serious objections. As he seems, were he and his party in safety, not to be very solicitous about the fate of the rest of mankind. So neither does reason nor history seem to support him on that partial and confined ground.—I entirely agree with Doctor
Campbell

Campbell in ascribing bad effects to great temporal establishments, and power conferred on the Clergy. But whether Doctor Campbell has been happy in his choice of examples I doubt very much. The fathers, whom he produces from early ages, were, according to no weak authority, endowed with as sublime virtues as their abilities were confessedly great. Doctor Campbell seems to me to have taken Arian historians *alone* for his vouchers, and if he has decided on such evidence, he has transgressed the rules of criticism.

Again, I take it for granted, as an incontestible point of history, that no Christian sect exists of two hundred years standing, which has not had its days of bigotry; when many of its members perverted its tenets, either in principles or conclusions; and that were we to arraign the representatives of all these different denominations of Christians, before us, he who would cast the first stone, might be the last whom reason would acquit.—I hold it equally incontestible, that these inauspicious days have passed away never more to return. The progress of knowledge, and the experience of mankind, have traced a permanent line of dissinction between things spiritual and temporal; and there is no Christian sect at present whose doctrines, and discipline, and morality, are not applicable to any form of government. The only bigotry that now subsists, and will probably long subsist, because supported by fear, which flies from discussion, takes its rise in the misrepresentation and falsifications of wicked, designing, and self-interested men. Such men practice on the credulity and ignorance of mankind. They represent, to a favoured sect, all those of a different creed as hostile in political concerns; and thus recommend restraints and legal incapacities as salutary and necessary.

If Doctor Campbell had succeeded in his attempt to prove an exemption in favour of his party from the former of these incontestible points ; such a mode of obtaining the suffrage of the latter would seem unfavourable to other sects.— But Doctor Stock has effectually frustrated his attempt. And although Doctor Campbell lays the blood of the FIRST CHARLES at the door of the independents, yet, in my opinion, the independents are as loyal subjects, and as proper members of civil society, as any other denomination of Christians.

Doctor Campbell not only reasons wrong, by confining himself too much to a party, but he also discovers some symptoms of intolerance !— Indeed, I cannot say that this odious, and in Doctor Campbell inconsistent spirit, is suffered to appear in explicit terms through the course of his pamphlet ; but in treading that ground I thought I felt it ! I have since seen, or thought I saw it, attend on Doctor Campbell, and on some of his reverend brethren ; and their High Mightinesses, the Monthly Reviewers, have, in their account of Doctor Campbell's pamphlet, almost dispelled my doubts on that head, by very liberally stiling the Catholics of Ireland *The common enemy* !—It would seem that the ideas of Popery, and slavery, and bigotry, and cruelty, were still associated in the mind of Doctor Campbell ; and that Doctor Campbell did not wish to unfold his mind in express terms.—I call on Doctor Campbell to speak out.—I defy him to assign a single tenet of the Catholic religion that is not perfectly consistent with the genuine principles of civil liberty, and of Christian toleration.—The Monthly Reviewers, those adepts in philosophy, I could address with all the good nature of a blundering Irishman, as *my dearly beloved brethren*, were I not apprehensive

sive, that they would for *several* reasons, deny the kindred: wherefore, until I am acknowledged as a true brother, I shall prefer my address as a subject; but then it will be to expostulate and to remonstrate.

HIGH and MIGHTY SIRs,

SINCE you have taken upon yourselves the government of the intellectual world, I often looked up to you with reverence and awe. Your directions I generally waited in order to ascend the hill of the Muses, or to enter into the temple of Science, for you appeared to me the surest guides. I soon found, to my great satisfaction, that, like other potentates, you began to extend your dominions.—The cause of virtue you warmly espoused; you felt for the prosperity and happiness of mankind. The tyrant you withstood, the oppressed you cheered, and to extend the empire of civil and religious liberty, was professedly held out as one great object of your auspicious reign. In such principles so congenial to my nature, I heartily coincided with you. I followed your banners through many different regions. I followed you to the plains of Indostan, where human nature often sighed unheard, and from thence to the Western Isles, where the groans of the afflicted African were daily lost in the surrounding billows. You seemed to me to consider all mankind as one family, the members of which, however different in features, in dress, in age, or in abilities, were born to the enjoyment of the same benefits, and of the same protection. Your maxims, I thought, would restore to the sons of men that dignity, to which they are by nature intitled;

titled ; and I did not imagine that after travelling so far, you would forget your *door neighbours*.

Indeed, I had long observed, that whenever *Popery* came in your way, it operated like a magical spell ; it seemed to chain down your discursive powers, and to freeze your sympathetic feelings.—That inquisitive reason which unravels the mysterious claims of tyranny, and proves them equally insufficient, whether supported by the distance of place, by the length of time, or by the sanctity of religion, deserted you on these occasions ; and the eighty-fifth society of GLASGOW might vie with your august and learned body in philosophizing upon *Popery*.

The world was often struck by the force of your arguments against any infringements on the rights of mankind. All impartial and benevolent men joined their voice to yours in reprobating tyranny. They heard you out on the heart-rending woes of persecuted and oppressed Protestants.—When Papists came on afterwards, it was matter of astonishment to see you erect that tyranny which you had been pulling down, and offer to the world no other reasons for injustice, cruelty, and oppressive restraints, than the vague words *necessity, expediency* ; or some very unsatisfactory sneers on the patches, paint, and I know not what of *Mother Church*!

Is it then popery, or is it her native soil, that has raised a cloud between our island and your penetrating eyes?—The most numerous class of our people lie in the shade of oppression, and groan under extreme misery. Such an evil has never attracted your notice. The unfortunate disturbances of the South, have from time to time prevailed for more than twenty years past. Severity has been often used. Human victims have been offered. Severity would have checked the
evil,

evil, if it had its source in licentiousness.—You, Sirs, had sufficient time to see to the bottom of it.

And could you see no falshoods in the spurious Theophilus? Could the Bishop of Cloyne's fanciful system of a natural conformity between different religions and different forms of government, appear to you a *very sensible and very candid enquiry*? And could you in the next month, join Doctor Campbell in representing the same system as an idle and groundless speculation?—Could you, like the worst of tyrants, hold up one part of the same community as the common enemy of the other, and thus aim at kindling the flames of civil discord?

And where, Sirs, is that accuracy which generally distinguishes your observations on other subjects?—General expressions either have no meaning, or may have any meaning. And what in the name of wonder is meant by that *full toleration* to which catholics and dissenters are entitled in the Bishop of Cloyne's principles? Is it to breathe, and pray, and fast, and bear the produce of mother earth to mother church?—Beware, Sirs, lest while you are regulating the heads of others you neglect your own; and become the abettors of that intellectual confusion and discordancy, by which the regular connexion of objects and ideas, and words is lost, and the *bystanders* are moved to pity or contempt. The catholics loudly proclaim, that in proportion as your high-sounding words, "*civil and religious liberty*," fill and expand their ears, they feel the rest of their frame cramped and restrained.—What then is liberty? Or what, high and mighty Sirs, is the object of your zeal and pursuits?—Is it the monster Tyranny under a false appearance?—And is liberty with you, high and mighty Sirs, worse than a name?

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SECTION VIII.

MY Lord, your eighth and last section, *On the injury sustained by the parochial clergy in their property; and the means of reinstating them in their former rights*; mistates and exaggerates some facts while it suppresses others, and leaves us to the reasoning which may be expected from such unfair premises.—When first I saw your Lordship's representation of things, though far distant from the scenes of the late disturbances, I conceived it erroneous. I thought it destroyed itself; for there appeared in it an incoherence, and an inconsistency very incompatible with truth. We there saw a Popish banditti acting upon religious principles. A deep-laid scheme for the subversion of church and state. The avowed agents, poor illiterate ignorant Papists. The encouragers and planners specified, though glanced at only. Protestants of note and consideration. So that either, the only persons capable of forming schemes, must have knowingly concerted their own ruin; or those who are supposed unequal to any thing systematic, must have had the singular address of planning deep-laid schemes; and of drawing into their snares the informed, and the thinking.—Such contradictory positions carried with them their own refutation; and I then thought that the indignation excited in your Lordship's breast, by the outrages of the insurgents, had betrayed you unawares into those hasty declamations, those violent excesses of intellectual operations, which are considered as the unintentional violations of truth and

and justice.—Since the Rev. Doctor O'Leary published his defence, I have had ample cause for receding from my former opinion. That benevolent character and friend of mankind, whose information enlightens; whose humour laughs even fanatics into sense; and whose veracity cannot be impeached even by the malice of bigots; has had the fairest opportunity of observing the rise, progress, nature, and extent of the late outrages; he has candidly unfolded the different operations in the South; and his narrative so essentially differs from that of your Lordship, and of your Lordship's auxiliaries, that the notion of involuntary errors on your part becomes quite inadmissible. The shameful suppression of facts and circumstances unfriendly to your purpose; the exaggerated and extravagant description of whatever seemed in the most distant manner to favour it, have stamped such a character on your narratives as instantly shocks all candid and impartial minds. A deep-laid scheme of calumny and defamation is easily discoverable; for this pious purpose it was thought expedient, that two singular figures should attend your Lordship into public view; a precursor and a follower: and the holy clergy, to convince the world of their disinterestedness, resolved that these doughty squires should be laymen.

The former superlatively dull might excite our admiration at the choice of the clergy, if a mind fashioned by nature to vulgar ribaldry, and sordid falsifications, had not amply supplied the defect. This wretch is extolled by your Lordship as an able writer! a man of abilities! and the crime of conscious slander, of *bearing false witness against the neighbour*, is charitably imputed by your Lordship to a zeal for religion, in a miscreant, who would as readily subscribe to the Koran as

to the Thirty-nine Articles, if the Koran held out to him the same temporal advantages.

The latter trusty squire is the renowned Dominick Trant :—Family and property, and education, and travelling sometimes expand the mind, and improve the heart ; but at other times they leave both as they found them :—Dominick Trant lived on the spot, he could boast of family and consequence. If the precepts of a liberal education, and the rectifying flame which issues from an intercourse with mankind, had not sunk into his mind, they had at least acted on the surface ; and Dominick Trant could make fine professions, construct pretty phrases, and quote the noble sayings of great classical authors. From the ribaldry of Theophilus to the little tinsel of Dominick Trant, a great difference in style and manner prevailed : various tastes might be pleased, and yet the leading opinion and leading calumnies were the same.—Dominick Trant stiled your Lordship's man of abilities, a *well-meaning writer*, and varnished your Lordship's pamphlet with his praise. Dominick Trant had deserved well of the church, and until the more substantial rewards could reach his merit, his vanity was to be fed with incense. The *learned* Deans and Chapters, who had offered incense to your Lordship, addressed Dominick Trant ; Dominick Trant returned the incense, and between them our immortal Swift was sadly befouled.—To hear Dominick Trant's professions, one would imagine, that the elegance, politeness, honour, and philanthropy of those famous countries, through which he travelled, were all his own. No bias, he says, can affect him ; and yet in his next page we see the words *Papist, Popish, Popery*, in prominent characters. To what must we attribute this inconsistency and indecorum ?—We cannot suppose Dominick Trant to be ignorant of the

the most obvious rules of politeness ; he knows it to be a flagrant breach of these rules to design any man or body of men by terms which to them seem reproachful. But Dominick Trant has learned to speak and to think as *occasion* requires. He agrees with your Lordship in referring the disturbances of the South to a Popish conspiracy, and points out the great body of the people, the Catholics and Presbyterians of Ireland, as *internal confederated enemies* : and yet in his idle speculations on the state of Ireland he declares, that the *misery* of the Munster peasantry is extreme.—And is extreme misery such a trifle as to be productive of no striking effects ?—For my part I consider it so active a cause as to be always fruitful in tremendous consequences. Would the Bishop of Cloyne or Dominick Trant be patient, resigned, or even, *peaceable* under *extreme misery* ?—But it seems the base nature of Irishmen is not to be compared with that of others, for a British prelate tells the world, that to acknowledge to the most wretched of mankind, that they are wretched, is goading them to madness, as if their feelings were as callous as Britons are wont to conceive their intellects.—Dominick Trant seems as little concerned about the extreme misery of Irishmen as the British prelate. It is true he speaks of it, and assigns to it certain causes and remedies which are either not radical, or not attainable. If the fault lies with the gentlemen of landed property, surely Dominick Trant must be an exception : and is there no extreme misery to be found on his estate ? But an aspiring genius in this country must not disgust British monopolists : let him rather flatter their prejudices. Dominick Trant asserts, that ferocity is natural to the *native Irish*. The words *native Irish* are analogous to the liberal expression of *mere Irish* ; *wild Irish* ; *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*.

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So common in British writings and so grateful to British ears. To these expressions, the idea of ferocity and of every other brutal passion, has been annexed. Yet in all impartial historians, generosity, hospitality, and compassionate feelings, form a part of our character.—Indeed this mode of vilifying the national character is not peculiar to Dominick Trant. Perhaps it leads to honour ; for we have been told not long since by a *right honourable*, that we are a *besotted nation*, a *people easily roused and easily appeased*. Shame upon the wretch who reviles his native land, and calumniates that country to which he owes his ALL !

Dominick Trant feels no shame or concern but for the outrages in the South. Such evils alone are, according to Dominick Trant, capable of tarnishing our name and reputation ; yet before I join in his lamentation, I shall beg leave to remark, that wherever mobs, or riots, or tumults, have taken place, (and where have they not been observed ?) a certain share of ferocity and cruelty has constantly been their natural attendant : and that in no other country has less of either appeared on such disastrous occasions, than in Ireland. To impress then such a stigma on our national character is illiberal and unjust.—But that those whom family, or fortune, or rank, or station, has raised above the crowd ; those in whom the heroic sentiments which dignify men have every opportunity of being fostered and unfolded ; those to whom the bulk of mankind are thought to look up for examples of rectitude, of integrity, and of true honour. That such men should deal in base falsifications : circulate wilful falsehoods, assume the garb of virtue and patriotism, for the purpose of concealing their most sordid, most miserable private views and interests, and sacrifice their
country

country on the altar of corruption ! *pudet hæc opprobria nobis et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli.*

My Lord, after the many strained lamentations sung over the distresses of the established clergy, I may be allowed to turn aside, and speak of objects which have been totally overlooked.—Your Lordship sets forth, that the “ established clergy “ are the only aggrieved set of men in the community.”—It is a fact that the Catholic clergy have suffered more in the late outrages ; but another class of men (if we can suppose them men) of whom Dominick Trant has acknowledged that extreme misery is the portion, is more numerous than both orders of clergy : and why not entitled to notice ? My Lord, *extreme misery* is a strong expression and not exaggerated in the present instances ; it is not even so universally applied as it ought : for not only the Munster peasantry, but the lower orders of the people in almost all parts of the kingdom, are in that horrid predicament.—Whether we go to the vast plains of Asia, where despotic sway has unnerved mankind ; whether we turn to the scorching regions of Africa, where cruelty supplies the want of knowledge in the governors, and the want of pliancy in the governed : or whether we survey the wilds of America, where the roving tribes of savages seem as uncultivated as the spontaneous produce of the country which they overrun : in no part of the globe is there to be found such misery as in Ireland ! And Ireland is perhaps of all other countries the best adapted by nature to human felicity. And the people of Ireland are the neighbours and fellow-subjects of the wealthiest, happiest, and most pampered people upon earth :—A shocking evil under the sun, my Lord, but not more shocking than that there are to be found in the same country, men so hardened and so blindfolded by bigotry, as not to be affected by the greatest of human

human woes, and not to see that such evils must have their effects as well as their causes.—To speak of these evils has I know been termed seditious. But humanity spurns the tyrannical maxim; and had I a voice of thunder, I would send forth to the extremities of the earth the cries and groans of my afflicted countrymen, and leave bigots to reason as bigotry directs.—To such men, whatever coincides not with their fanciful little systems, will appear unreasonable. And though human nature were to bleed through millions of individuals, such bigots would still see nothing but the sufferings of a few clergymen.—I have already said that I thought myself dispensed from entering into a detail of these sufferings. I shall only in general terms declare, that I am as averse to riots or tumults as your Lordship can be, and that from my heart I abhor the exercise of cruelty on any of the human species, and most especially on the helpless and uninformed.—At the same time I am free to avow, that the established clergy have not during the late outrages appeared to me like *lamb*s among *wolves*. They have discovered a strong tendency to military executions, and to that mode of dispatching sinners which martial law prescribes. Their resentment did not seem under the controul of gospel rules; and wherever the civil power centered in their hands, we have witnessed scenes of bloodshed which it was the glory of military commanders to remove. Their publications breathed all along a spirit of tyranny and cruelty not congenial with the religion which they profess, or with the constitution under which they live; and their falsifying arts have brought no credit on the order.—Doubtless many of that sacred order are entitled to a different character; men who deserve well of society, and have therefore a claim to the respect and veneration of every denomi-

denomination of Christians.—One in particular, who styled himself, *what he really is, a benificed clergyman*, has been conspicuously forward in the late contests, and has given such marks of benevolence, of philanthropy, of candour, and of honour, as would grace any country or profession.

If my censures on the ministers of the established religion be construed into disloyalty, I must observe, that unless these Rev. Gentlemen arrogate to themselves the attributes of impeccability, their accusation must prove ineffectual. For if the public conduct of ministers of state, who possess the confidence of our sovereign be open to the freest discussion, and to the freest censure, why should any other order of men claim an exemption from public animadversion? But this objection I should have totally disregarded, as proceeding from bigotted churchmen, who have ever been noted for a peculiar tendency to every species of tyranny, if a certain patriotic country member had not declared in full senate, “that the bench of Bishops had been reviled, and that the glorious revolution of 1688 might as well be reviled.”

I have every respect for that gentleman's upright intentions. No man, I think, possesses a more independent, a more undaunted spirit, or a greater incorruptibility of heart. But a strange weakness of intellects has also characterised him. He received early in life the unjust and absurd ideas annexed to the words, *popery, slavery, Protestant interest, glorious revolution*. These discordant principles have often fermented in his active and feeble mind; and their dross, it seems, is not as yet thrown off.—I tell that gentleman that I revere the principles of civil and religious liberty as much as he does; and have as little respect for the memory of the unfortunate race of Stuarts.—In as much as the revolution of 1688 favoured the

cause of freedom, it has my most hearty applause; but I have not for it, or for any thing else, that ever came from the hands of men, a blind and superstitious veneration.—I assert with confidence, and I defy the honourable gentleman to disprove my assertion, that something accompanied or followed that famous event which proved destructive to Ireland.—It was in the shadow of the great temple, then raised to freedom, on which men gazed with enthusiastic zeal, that our constitution and commerce fell, and lay entombed together, until a late revolution did in part revive them.—May the honourable gentleman learn from past experience to ward against future ills; and may he never more remind the public of his former *intolerance*!

It is time that I close my remarks, and quit the disagreeable office of pointing to malice and folly.—For the facts which incontrovertibly prove what I have more than once advanced, namely, that conscious slander and wilful falsehood have been used to impose on the world, I refer to the publications of the most Rev. Doctor Butler, and of the Rev. Mr. O'Leary.—The half-learned bigots, who have since appeared in numbers with mighty promises of answers and refutations, have only cavilled at words, or nibbled at petty circumstances of no avail. Indeed they have let loose a torrent of invectives on those who dare oppose what they cannot defend; and the very noble descent of the venerable Doctor Butler has not screened him from the contemptuous scurrility of low bigots.—The censure of such men would be to me a flattering testimony of superior merit; for, did I feel myself loaded with their heavy praise, I should instantly suspect something wrong in my head, or in my heart. If I am to be honoured by their answers and refutations; let them not go aside into the unmeaning obscurity

rity of ambiguous and general expressions. The field lies open to them; and if cavilling be at all allowable, reason demands, that the necessary duty of speaking to the main points, to the great positions, should go before.

My Lord, I trust, I have sufficiently exposed the fallacy of your Lordship's reasoning. I have proved your principles, when well directed, to be false; when true, to be wide of the question; your conclusions so loose as would lead to any absurdity; and the whole, by the seasoning of a studied ambiguity of expression, adapted only to the tastes of the weak and the bigotted.—Were I inclined to go farther, and to adopt your Lordship's mode of reasoning for different purposes, I could, with a greater show of probability than results from your Lordship's pamphlet, excite the alarms of the Catholics and Dissenters, of more than nine-tenths of the people of Ireland, I could, from *your Lordship's principles*, point out to them the ungovernable tendency of their countrymen of the established church to tyranny and oppression. "The conclusion would be manifest, that such men are not entitled to their confidence:" and then we should have worshipful society! But such practices I disdain, not because I fear the Bishop of Cloyne, or his *able writers*, or Dominick Trant, or any man of a similar stamp in what ever rank or station; but because I am conscious that in doing so I should violate truth as well as justice, and confound some of the most patriotic, most liberal, and most honourable men of the nation, with the most contemptible in it.

My Lord, the many and various deductions which follow from your Lordship's grand positions, would degrade the great body of the people of Ireland to as abject a state of slavery as the Asiatic regions, have ever witnessed. Not only the reasoning, but the very style of the late publications

points to that end. The Catholics and Presbyterians of Ireland appear in no other light than as hewers of wood and drawers of water. No RIGHTS are acknowledged in them; their very existence seems ignored; for the language of privileged souls excludes all idea of them, not only from the words, *state, government, legislature, constitution, &c.* but also from the humble appellations of public, people, soldiers, sailors, &c. &c. Can such be the effects of Christian zeal?—Or may we exclaim, *Wo!*——“for you have tithed mint, and anise, and cummin, and have let alone the weightier things of the law: judgment, and mercy and faith?”

CONCLUSION.

WHEN the voice of reason loudly proclaims to Irishmen, “Beware of intestine divisions, beware of those who sow the seeds of civil discord among you, in order to deprive you of the fruits of your industry:” the salutary admonitions is addressed to the Protestant, as well as to the Catholic and Dissenter.—If some Protestants are taken into the partnership of iniquity, the number will appear inconsiderable with regard to the Protestant body; and whatever advantage may accrue, will be amply counter-balanced by the vain hopes, and vain conceits, which must mislead many Protestants, and subject them to greater misery than either Dissenters or Catholics experience.

The baneful policy which had so long wasted this unhappy country, had its roots fixed in Britain, and its branches spread amongst us through many classes and ranks of corrupt and self-interested men. It was lately thought, that various causes had blasted this devouring evil, and that
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the light of truth, and the kind influence of virtue and freedom would supply its place, and operate to the happiness and contentment of ALL.—To me it seems no longer doubtful, that the present ministry have imparted peculiar energy to this destructive system of policy, and have revived its latent powers in root and branch.

The Machiavelian scheme, *divide and govern*, though often adopted by men of abilities, is rather a wretched temporary expedient, than a plan calculated for any permanent purpose; but whatever effects it may sometimes produce, the abettors of it always thought it necessary to have its tendency concealed, until our present glorious ministry disabused the world, by openly and avowedly scattering the seeds of discord through the land.—On their first entering into power, they saw with secret envy and regret, that Irishmen had, by some shew of unanimity, successfully shook off British shackles, and were then assiduously employed in guarding against the undermining operation of corrupt influence, which as effectually and more securely leads to ruin. They knew the means, which their virtuous predecessors had uniformly made use of in order to divide, to oppress, and to plunder this unhappy nation; it was to profess themselves missionaries, and to be unlimited in what they required for their spiritual favours, though it were to strip the faithful of every thing. But the moral conduct of our new missionaries seemed at strange variance with the hallowed accents which fell from their lips; and while our ears were attuned to the sacred sounds of *religion, gospel, purity, and truth*, we beheld a *funny club* exchange the morality of CHRIST for that of Mahomet! However, this unfavourable circumstance was not sufficient to defeat their *pious* designs.—There remained in this country a certain fund of bigotry, on which the
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most awkward tools might operate with success. Not only the suspicious character of the teachers, but even the notorious falsehood of the doctrine did not discredit the proceedings. Bigotry, though strange it may appear, will sometimes give credit in proportion to the absurdity of the object.—The chief promoters of parliamentary reform, and of all other patriotic measures, which have been lately proposed and rejected, were Protestants of the established religion, and in general the greatest ornaments of that church. This incontrovertible fact, which one would imagine should have some weight, was easily overlooked; and the *pious* absurdities circulated by a British junto, for the purposes of enslaving all descriptions of Irishmen, were *piously* believed by many.—The *Papists* and *Puritans* had formed a conspiracy against church and state! Nothing but the connection with the sister kingdom could withstand their power! And whatever was proposed in favour of our unprotected manufactures, or against profusion and speculation, *manifestly tended* to weaken that connexion! Nay, to complain of grievances, was represented as open rebellion; and the people of Ireland were to learn the horrid doctrine, “that the good of their country was incompatible with the allegiance due to their Sovereign!”

Such are the grand principles of Mr. Orde's system of politics; under the cover of which the liberties and properties of the good people of Ireland are daily invaded with such marks of contempt, with such insults, and with such indignities, that the despotic intention of governing by fear can be easily perceived. But whether this mode of governing be adapted to the Irish character; whether it be for the interest of Britain, are questions, the solution of which can reflect no honour on the present administration. To their private views, even the interest of Britain would seem

seem to yield; for their selfish designs, the confidence of the Sovereign would appear betrayed.—Indeed, I had always an high opinion of Mr. Orde's plausibility. I saw he constantly affected the language of the gentleman and of the scholar, and left base calumny and foul invective to be managed by Irish organs. I hence concluded, that for the malignant influence of his administration we should hear a political lullaby; or, in other words, that we were to receive one single benefit for the many evils which we had sustained. I was confirmed in this opinion, by the mighty promises held out during two succeeding sessions, of a plan of education so liberal, and so extensive, that it would carry the light of science into the darkest recesses of our island.—Though this plan proceeded on the ridiculous supposition that complaints and riots were the offspring of our ignorance, as if no grievances existed; yet it was a benefit, and promised to efface every vestige of that most tyrannic and gothic policy by which men are debarred from improving their rational faculties.—Public expectation was raised very high. Two years were employed in hatching this political embryo, and a third session became necessary to bring it to maturity. Yet from the outlines of it, with which Mr. Orde has lately favoured us, it appears to be a monster, and perhaps the greatest evil of his inauspicious administration.

Language is so often abused in this unhappy country, that we may readily distinguish between the title and nature of a thing; between its apparent and real tendency. Mr. Orde's plan of education has been repeatedly held forth in splendid colours; and I am free to acknowledge, that at first view it is apt to dazzle? nay, many there are who may consider its fundamental defects as its greatest perfections, by which it is calculated

to do away bigotry and prejudice of every kind.— The notions which these gentlemen have formed to themselves of bigotry, must be very different from the dictates of reason. I think that a strict and inviolable attachment to the religion of a man's conscience, so far from meriting the appellation of bigotry, is the surest mark of an enlightened mind and an honest heart. And surely it must appear ridiculous in the extreme, to term a base indifference to any religion, liberality of sentiment. While the sincere Christian adheres to the religion of his conscience, and is therefore entitled to our respect, he derives from his paternal authority a right, and is under an obligation of educating his children in his own principles; and this duty of parents must appear so far superior to all their other duties, as things eternal are to temporal. The religious principles in which children are to be instructed, cannot be separated from morality, the inculcating of which is so essential to the well-being of society; and this great and necessary instruction must, in order to succeed, be enlivened with every branch of knowledge which enters the human mind, until it arrives at a state of maturity.—On these principles, which I think cannot be controverted with effect, let Mr. Orde's system of education be examined, and its real tendency will appear very different from what it promises.

I have said, that at first view it is apt to dazzle. What can be more extensive? Parish schools! Diocesan schools! Provincial schools! and a national college! A particular culture, ready prepared for the human mind, at every gradation which it makes toward maturity. It has also an appearance of liberality; for Mr. Orde emphatically declares, that these fruitful nurseries are to be open to all denominations of Christians. An *innocent* condition is indeed annexed, requiring the

the superintendents, professors, and teachers to these seminaries to be of the established church ; and for this *innocent* condition Mr. Orde assigns a very *substantial* reason. He says, " that as " those employed in this great business are to " be paid by the state, it is necessary that they " should be of the religion of the state."—This substantial reason leads very far, and cuts off for ever the great body of the people from any chance of emolument, which they might reasonably expect, in return for the vast sums daily levied on them without their consent.—The word *state* with Mr. Orde is a very abstract term ; and the money of the state does not seem to be the money of the people.—But the *innocent* condition sets the whole plan of education, with all its liberality, at variance with the great principles which I have advanced above, and of course renders it nugatory : For no Presbyterians or Catholics can, with consistency of principles, send their children to such places of instruction,—If Mr. Orde assures them, that no mention is to be made of religion, can he answer for it ? Or can any regulations prevent a zealous teacher from making, *by some means or other*, such impressions on tender minds as he would wish ? Or can such general education be carried on without any regard to the inculcating of morality ? Or can morality be inculcated without a fixed system of religious tenets to guide it ?—Let Mr. Orde answer these questions before he trifles again with our understanding, by calling that liberal which is certainly most illiberal. Does he imagine that they can be indifferent about the principles which their children imbibe, who are ready to sacrifice every temporal consideration to their own principles ?

But this extensive and liberal plan of education, not only withholds all new advantages, but materially infringes on the few inconsiderable ones

already enjoyed by Catholics.—A late act of the legislature has, in part, relaxed those barbarous and gothic laws, which forbade intellectual improvement.—This miserable and partial relaxation, and so far from being the effect of enlightened and rational proceedings, that it left gross inconsistencies behind. Catholics were allowed to have schools, but no endowments were permitted; by this restriction, nothing but a very imperfect classical education could be carried on.—The Catholic clergy were authorised by law; foreign education was still forbid; and they were allowed no education at home.—With all these inconveniences and inconsistencies, some advantages accrued which Mr. Orde's plan of education has a manifest tendency to subvert.—The privilege of educating their youth, such as it was, was not extended to Catholics as an absolute privilege; it was wisely subjected to the good will, pleasure, or, if you will, whim, of the ordinary of the diocese; and we have seen this power lately exercised in a very arbitrary manner. But however bigotry, or a tyrannical disposition, might impel an individual to overlook the forms of decorum, it was too odious a precedent to be followed in general.—That a minister of religion, and a professor of literature, should openly, without any palliation, check the propagation of knowledge, cannot well bear the face of day!—Mr. Orde's plan of education furnishes every necessary palliation. When it has passed into a law, not a diocesan in the kingdom but can with great plausibility reply to any Catholics who may apply for his certificate. “Good people for what purpose do you demand my certificate? Has not the legislature most amply provided for your instruction? Have you not parish schools? Diocesan schools? Provincial schools? schools to resort to? Do you reject knowledge, because

"cause the dispensers of it are Protestants? If you do you betray a dangerous spirit of bigotry, in which you should not be indulged."

And thus are Catholics, who act according to principle, debarred from any education whatsoever!

When we heard education recommended from the throne on a plan the *most extensive and liberal*, either his majesty meant these words in Mr. Orde's sense, or he did not. The transcendent benevolence of our gracious Sovereign cannot suffer the slightest suspicion of the former to rest upon our minds; the latter then comes home to Mr. Orde, and convinces the world, that he has abused the confidence of his Sovereign.—

That Mr. Orde's plan of education naturally bears my comments, is obvious from his own expressions. During the debates, he assured gentlemen in a very significant manner, that nothing could be devised so favourable to the propagation of the Protestant religion.—He meant that it should have the appearance for the comfort of pious souls without producing the effect: for though I believe Mr. Orde to be a very charitable man, yet if the converting of all Irishmen to one true religion, were to make them one people, persuaded I am, that in this instance, Mr. Orde would not wish the conversion of sinners.—

Upon the whole, we may pronounce his plan of education a barbarous penal law; such as Europe has not beheld for near a century past; the direct aim of which is, to intercept the few vagrant rays of knowledge that enlighten the great body of the people of Ireland; and to extend still further the empire of patronage and of corruption.

It would be too tedious a task to enter into a discussion of the various modes of restrictive intolerance practised by the present ministry, until Europe was lately edified by their pious proposal

for prostrating Catholic chapels, on false pretexts and slanderous accounts. The general purport of their proceedings seems to be, as I have already observed, to govern by fear: but how this despotic principle will operate under popular forms, it behoves them to consider. As to their threats and contumelious language, it is truly pitiful to see them attempt to manage the great Catholic body, as a pert, petulant pedagogue would treat a set of naughty boys. The reason assigned for this, their unwarrantable conduct is, because Catholics did not, when their country's grievances were discussed, and patriotic measures pursued, stand up, join a British junto, declare against patriotism, and betray their country. But the Catholics of Ireland have ever been as remarkable for patriotism as for loyalty: and I trust that the nefarious attempts to drive them from both will prove equally unsuccessful.—Firm in their country's cause, and true to a sovereign to whom they owe gratitude as well as allegiance, they will continue to disregard the contemptible *petulance* of a boyish ministry. Or if they speak out, let it be to petition their sovereign (for the right of petitioning is not yet denied even to *papists and beggars*) that he would be graciously pleased to banish such men from his councils for ever.

If we now take into consideration the late movements of the established clergy, we may observe a striking relation between their conduct and that of the present ministry. If ministry overleap all bounds of probability, the clergy are not behind hand. Both seem to mistake little cunning for wisdom, and things incredible and monstrous are dealt out in order to avert the public view from weak and suspicious quarters.—That the descendants of the antient inhabitants of this island, the proprietors of the soil, should reassume

the possessions of their forefathers, involves a physical as well as moral impossibility, and yet it is bandied about as a probable event whenever British injustice, or Irish grievances, are complained of.—With the same shew of reason and the same good intention, “conspiracy, rebellion, pulling down the church, erecting Popish establishments, &c. are painted to our view.” Various attempts are made to exasperate each party, and to alarm all; but lest maxims, so contrary to the interest of Irishmen, and to the spirit of Christianity, should lose their intended effect, Irish Protestants are allured to them by the power of corruption; places, pensions, offices, commissions, are daily multiplied; and though it could be easily proved, that the hundredth part of the Protestants of Ireland can never taste those promised fruits, yet all may share in the hopes of them, and men are often known to feed on, and pass away their lives in idle hopes.—Something similar may be observed of the Protestant clergy. The great livings of the church are possessed by the few, and those generally foreigners: the lower orders of the established clergy are wretchedly provided for; so that a change would infallibly operate in favour of the majority. What then? the pampered dignitaries sound an alarm, and threaten the whole with destruction.—The fears thence ensuing, and the vain hopes on which indigent curates feed, and draw out a wretched existence make them supporters of abuses by which they suffer as well as others.—Upon the whole, the tyrannical maxims propagated by churchmen as well as statesmen, in this unhappy country, if pursued to the same extent in practice, as they are professed in theory, must finally bring about what they are intended to avert.

The

The Right Rev. Prelate, who so *honourably stood forth* of late, might have in view, not only his own interest, and the interest of his order, but also the general devouring interest of Britain. — If so, what are we to think of his zeal? — If a foreigner be *sent hither*, not only to enjoy riches and emoluments, but also to favour the designs of Britain against this country : If he flies with extended arms to the support of a church, which standeth in no need of support : If he cries with a loud voice, “ to my assistance fellow Protestants, the church is in danger,” and thus draws their attention from their dearest rights, and nearest interests : all true Irishmen, Protestants as well as Catholics, must deprecate the interference of such an *agitator* !

Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis.

My Lord, in taking leave of your Lordship, I have to wish, that if we meet again, it may be on better terms. — I have also to remark, that when a cause comes before an impartial and enlightened Public, — and when stubborn facts, and fair and clear conclusions are produced on one side, something more than an affectation of silent contempt is required from the other. This hackneyed mode of concealing weakness is fallen into disrepute ; and when I see Doctor Stock avoid a serious discussion, by expressing his contempt of “ ferocity, — petulance, and vulgar jocularity,” — I cannot but suppose him destitute of argument.

For the inaccuracy of my language, and the incorrectness of my style, I can amply apologize, by saying, with Mr. Barber, that I never had access to the *only source of whatever learning exists amongst us* ; and I can assure Mr. Burrowes, who
refers

refers Mr. Barber to the streams issuing from that generous source, that I have been driven even from the streams.—It was thought, I suppose, as in the fable of old, that my drinking from the stream would disturb the source.

The public will decide whether I may, with propriety, subscribe myself

AN UNBIASSED IRISHMAN.

My Lord, in taking leave of your Lordship, I have to wish, that if we meet again, it may be on better terms.—I have also to remark, that when a cause comes before an impartial and enlightened Public,—and when stubborn facts, and fair and clear conclusions are produced on one side, something more than an affectation of silence, something more than an affectation of self-complacency is required from the other. This haughty mode of concealing weakness is fallen into disrepute; and when I see Doctor Stock and a serious discussion, by expressing his contempt of controversy,—petulance, and rigid jealousy,—I cannot but expose him to the derision of all men.

For the insipidity of my language, and the incorrectness of my style, I can only apologize, by saying, with Mr. de la Harpe, that I never had access to the only source of elegant French, which amongst us, and even among the French, who



